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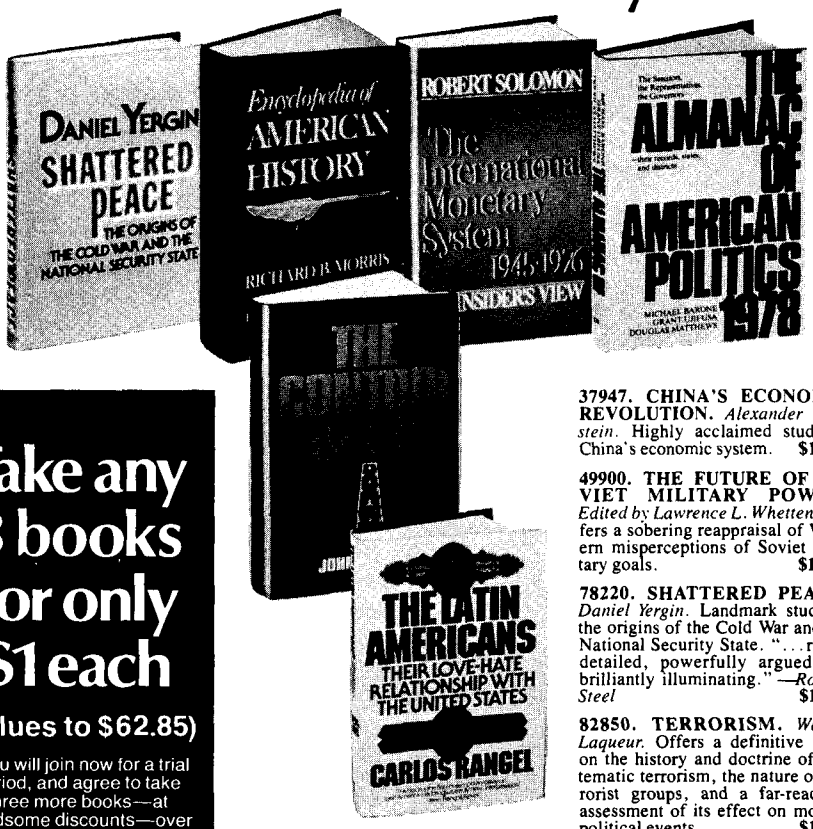

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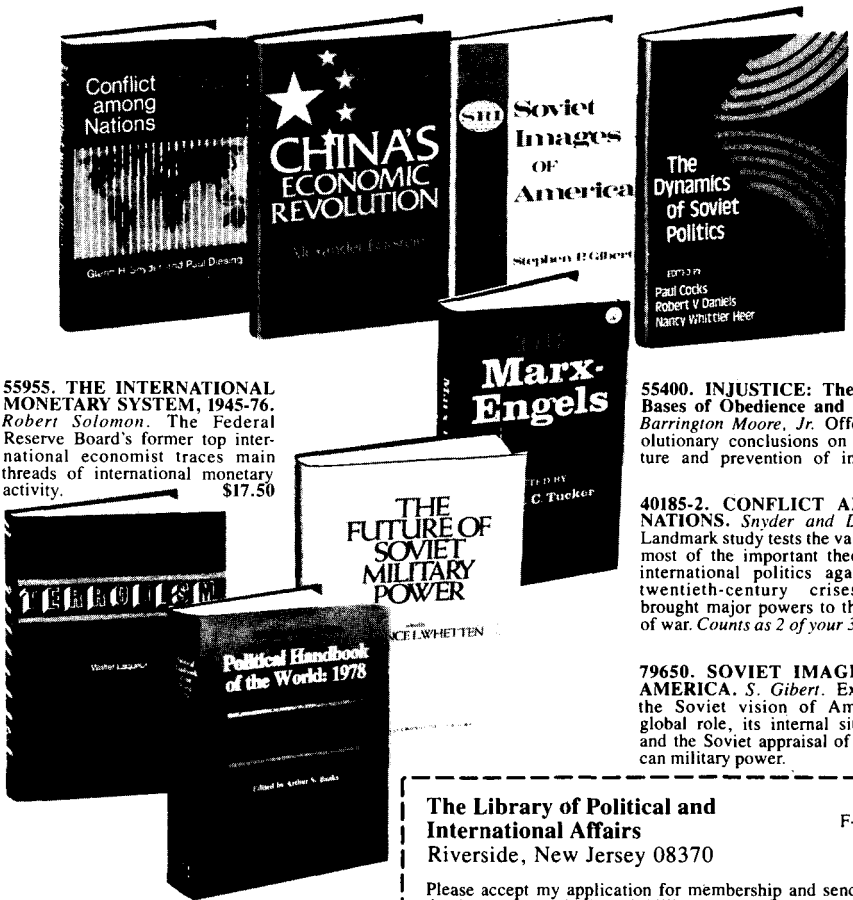

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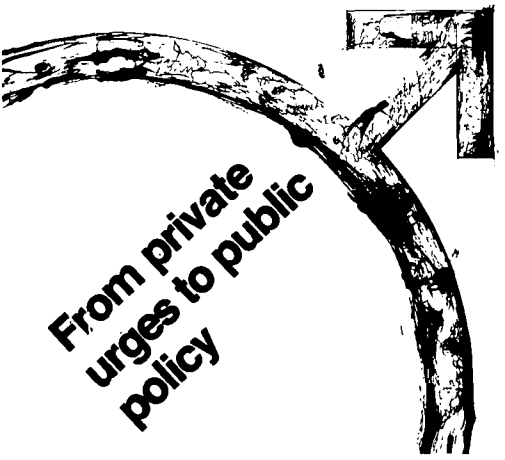

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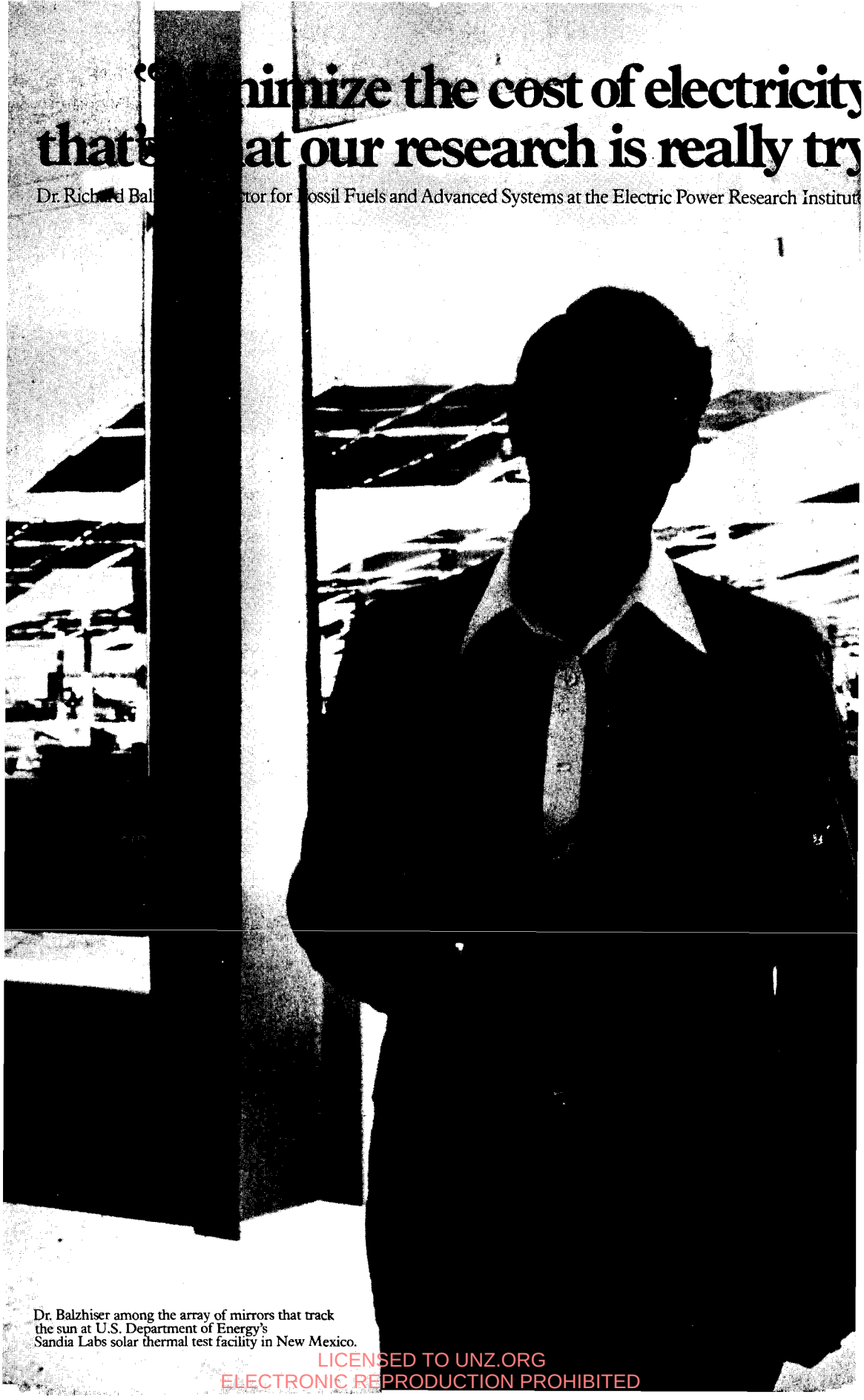

Dr. Balzhiser among the array of mirrors that track the sun at U.S. Department of Energy's Sandia Labs solar thermal test facility in New Mexico.

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ing to do."

"Our principal solar research effort is to develop collectors to use solar energy concentrated by mirrors. Such systems must be in use a large part of the time to justify the large capital investment. While the sun's energy is free, it's only available part of the time, so we'll need innovative storage or hybrid systems if solar electricity costs are to compete with other alternatives.

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Dr. Milton Levenson, Director for Nuclear Power at the Electric Power Research Institute.

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Letters

Motherhood

Re: "Motherhood and the Liberated Woman," July/August: As the single parent of a 6 year old girlchild, I may possibly have a slant on this whole issue that your writers—through inexperience, only—have not arrived at.

In time, the problems with babysitters resolve themselves, the more obnoxious of the baby-behaviour fades into memory, and the parent is faced with an aspect that doesn't get much discussion in the women's movement: How to raise this small, emerging person to become a competent, responsive human being? What inputs do you make to help this wild young creature that has been entrusted to you learn to like him or herself, and at the same time learn consideration for other humans?

The emphasis, of necessity, then, shifts away from the obvious gratifications Mr. Fallows talks of, and even farther from the even more obvious gratifications of childlessness, to such an extent that both become irrelevant.

Instead, the parent is faced with responsibility, not for physical comfort and well-being, but for creating environments conducive to learning and the development of an effective and well-rounded personality, and establishing a child's trust, self-confidence and sense of uniqueness. And that is the real task of childbearing and -rearing. . . .

JUDITH CHAMBERLAIN
Springfield, Virginia

With all due respect to Mr. Fallows ("The Case for Children", July/August) and his speechwriting ability, I must take issue with his rhapsodic paragraphs on children.

One can only imagine, since he says nothing to the contrary and since he has an obviously time consuming and demanding job (chief speechwriter for President Carter) that his wife's job is child care. Any sensitive man or woman can experience the great joys and delights of having a child—especially if someone *else* is back home taking care of those children. Fallows doesn't say a word about his being willing to give up a year or a few years of career to care for his children. He doesn't say a word about the career his wife has given up and how she feels about it. . . .

S. R. CLARK
Juneau, Alaska

The editors reply:

In 1974, Fallows left a highly promising career as a political reporter in Washington and followed his wife to the University of Texas where she was seeking a Ph.D. in linguistics. She has earned the degree and is now a researcher at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington. She says her husband shares the responsibility for the care of their son, Tommy, at night and on weekends.

Max Cleland

Your comment in the September issue [Tilting at Windmills] about Veterans Administrator Max Cleland gaining a reputation for "caving in" to the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars induced an extraordinary amount of resentment in me. You report this alleged "caving in" like a gossipmonger, offering no facts to support your statement. This contrasts so oddly with Nicholas Lemann's seemingly factual article on President Carter, which tends to clarify why the President has had such difficulty in establishing a direction for the federal government.

It seems to me we should walk a mile in another man's shoes before we criticize him and, when he is like Cleland and can't wear shoes, we should extend the distance considerably. As a below-knee amputee veteran of World War II, I admire Cleland immensely. . . . We need more real men like him. You do him an injustice when you imply that he is letting down his fellow Vietnam veterans. I believe you owe him an apology.

JOHN D. HULL
Altamonte Springs, Florida

The editors reply:

Max Cleland is a courageous model for handicapped persons. But as the leader of a $20-billion agency, who was put there presumably because he was a champion of Vietnam veterans, we find his record dismal.

Cleland allowed $488 million of the $500-million decline in the GI Bill between FY 78 and FY 79 to be taken for the most part away from Vietnam veterans. He opposed a Senate-passed GI Bill. He never appeared before any committee to defend the President's program for upgrading bad discharges. But he recommended that the President sign punitive legislation sought by the VFW and American Legion and the House Veterans committee.

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Of course, you assume more of the risk by choosing higher deductibles. It's a personal decision that should be based on a thorough evaluation of the age of your car, the value of your car on the used-car market, and your own financial situation. If your car is more than five years old, it may not pay to buy any collision insurance. If you do have an accident, casualty losses over $100 that are not reimbursed by insurance coverage are tax deductible, in many instances, providing you itemize your tax return.

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Tilting at Windmills

Think for a moment about the hatred between Protestant and Catholic in Northern Ireland, Arab and Jew in the Middle East, Greek and Turk in Cyprus, Hindu and Moslem in India, Ibo and Hausa in Nigeria, and black and white in South Africa. Now consider what has happened in the United States in the last 15 years. Until the early 1960s, hatred of the Jew, the Catholic, and the Negro was an integral part of our national life. If it's not dead now, it's a long, long way from being the ugly sore it was. We did a lot of things wrong during those years, but we also came close to solving a problem that still torments other nations. Maybe they should take a look at how we did it. . . . A report by a House subcommittee reveals that Department of Energy officials fly 90 per cent of the time on trips between Washington and Philadelphia. The DOE office in Washington is one and a half blocks from the train station. The average travel time between Washington and Philadelphia, including taxi to the terminals, is two hours and 12 minutes by train or two hours and 15 minutes by plane. But the air fare is more than double the train. Add the loss of revenue to government-subsidized Amtrak, and the total cost to the taxpayer of a plane ride to Philadelphia is $62.34 compared to $20.10 by rail. . . . In August the State Department declassified and released documents showing that in 1949, Chou En-lai made a secret attempt to get American aid in helping China stay independent of the Soviets. He described his faction as "the liberal group," and said he was opposed by "radicals who wanted closer association with Moscow." He was rebuffed by the United States. What a comfort this news will be to those who lost relatives and friends in the war in Korea which came the next year, followed in six months by the Chinese intervention that was so disastrous to our forces. . . .

If the left sometimes oversimplifies when it asserts that this country is run for the rich, there are two cases where it is clearly correct. One we have pointed out before is the Treasury Department's custom of paying high interest on high-priced securities that only the rich can buy while paying low interest on the savings bonds the average man can afford. The other is that if you're on social security, you can receive unlimited additional income from dividends, interest, and capital gains. But if you supplement social security by working, you can earn only $4,000 without having your benefits reduced. . . . It is my suspicion that the civil service secretly hates the people who have real work to do. Last month, for example, the Civil Service Commission downgraded 600 toilet cleaners, reducing their wages by more than $1,000. . . . America has become accustomed to thinking of Iran and

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Saudi Arabia as pillars of stability in the Middle East. But now Iran's internal troubles are making the front pages, and Saudi Arabia may not be far behind. Nobody really has been in charge since Faisal's death. A tremendous amount of money has been wasted by a government that has almost no internal budget control. As in Iran, revolution is possible from both the left and the Moslem right. An additional factor is the increasing number of graduates returning from English and American universities who want to share the pie with the royal family. . . .

If you've wondered why international negotiations like SALT seem to go on forever, take a look at the color photograph in the August 14 issue of *Time* showing American and Soviet delegates sitting on a terrace overlooking the blue waters of Lake Geneva. . . . Gary Hart is one of the few senators who doesn't react to defense expenditures in knee-jerk liberal or conservative terms. Here's a sampling of his views, as reported by the Colorado Springs *Gazette-Telegraph*: ". . . we order weapons not in response to their probable mission but in response to bureaucratic pressures within the armed services. If a ship wears out, it is replaced—very likely by a better and more expensive one of the same kind. Never mind that its mission may have obsolesced. . . . the Navy's current five-year plan vastly overinvests in frigates, which, in fact, do not have the capability of carrying out their anti-submarine mission against the Soviets. . . . we overinvest in huge Nimitz-class nuclear carriers, which are expensive and vulnerable, instead of buying smaller and cheaper conventional carriers that can be dispersed and are therefore less vulnerable. The Navy is buying the wrong plane (F-18) because of political pressures (O'Neill, Kennedy, Brooke) instead of the right one (F-14). We should have a lot of cheaper, conventionally powered submarines, and also should expand our vertical take-off plane program (VSTOL)."

A Washington research group asked local journalists to name the place in a government agency they would most likely go to for information. The leading response was "Public Information Office." This may explain why press coverage of government agencies is so bad. The public information office is the *last* place to go for the story. That's where all the con men are, veteran practitioners of the arts of misleading, diversion, and stonewalling who will make sure you don't get the truth if it is at all unfavorable to the agency concerned. . . .

Soon after we went to press with Nicholas Lemann's article on Carter last month, Henry Bradsher of *The Washington Star* came up with some similar findings of his own:

"'He makes his judgments from within the four corners of a piece of paper,' one official says. 'They are good engineering studies of the subjects, logical consideration, and it's hard to fault most of his decisions on the basis of what's presented to him—but they're too narrow.'

"Trained as a naval engineer, Carter does not bring the politician's approach to the problems that confront him, according to one close observer. This observer regards politicians, whom he studies professionally, as people who are continually trying to adjust the widest range of human interest. Engineers on the other hand are people who see things in technically limited terms."

Bradsher adds:

"Several members of the administration close to the presidential decision-making process say the basic cause of this sort of misstep is [that] . . . he simply had not thought about many of the foreign and security problems that have confronted him in his first year and a half in office."

Lemann's article pointed out in addition that among the members of his White House staff, Carter

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commands the personal loyalty of not more than four or five. Curtis Gans, whose article, "The Empty Voting Booths," appears on page 27 of this issue, takes this a step further and says, "Carter's real problem lies with what might be called the barroom factor. A person could walk into a barroom in any region of the country and insult, verbally attack, or even blaspheme the President and no one would raise a hand or voice in his defense.". . .

When Jay Solomon became head of the GSA last year, one of the first orders he issued was that all the glass doors at the agency's headquarters be unlocked as a gesture of openness to the public. A year later, according to Ronald Kessler of *The Washington Post,* Solomon was still bumping into locked glass doors, despite repeated complaints to his subordinates.

"The need for change at GSA is clear," Kessler continues, "but in trying to bring about change, Solomon, like the heads of other federal agencies, does not have the management tools and power available to most executives in private industry. Civil Service regulations in the opinion of many make it virtually impossible to fire incompetent employees. . . ." All of this is true, of course, and has been true for a long time. One good result of the GSA scandals is that it is being written about in the daily press. Certainly one reason that the scandals occurred in the first place is the lack of press attention to the GSA over the years. Until the recent news, I doubt that one reporter in a hundred knew the initials meant General Services Administration. Even the reporters who knew about the agency stayed away from it in droves because its work sounded so mundane. The mundaneness of the work—building, renting, and equipping federal offices—was a factor in the scandal in another way. Because of it, the GSA has always ranked lowest on the prestige scale of federal employment and has therefore tended to attract and hold the least able. The few skilled members of its staff have tended to be crooks attracted by the combination of no publicity and a lot of contracts to hand out to people who might be induced to reward their friends in power. But in spite of all the evidence of crookedness, I agree with James Polk, NBC's fine investigative reporter, that waste, not criminality, will turn out to be the major scandal at GSA. This is certainly the case in the rest of the federal government.

The American Society of Association Executives has just released a study showing that the average head of a trade association in Washington now makes $85,100 a year in base salary and $103,900 if you include benefits. . . . For over five months the House Committee on Government Operations tried to get the White House to back a bill that would open the records of the president and his staff to the public as much as possible or at least to let the committee know the White House position, whatever it was. The official word from the administration did not arrive until the day before mark-up was scheduled on the bill called the Presidential Records Act of 1978. The White House position, instead of being pro-openness, was that only the president should have control of the records for 15 years after he leaves office. This would give him and his staff time to write and profit from their memoirs. Historians and other writers would simply have to wait. . . . The administration has agreed to pay two defense contractors $541 million more than Navy auditors say they deserve. Why? Because the contractors, General Dynamics Corporation and Litton Industries, threaten to stop work, and they are two of only three contractors that can build large ships for the Navy. . . .

Charles Babcock of *The Washington Post* describes the education of a public official:

"A year ago, Attorney General Griffin B. Bell was looking for a way to abolish the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which has poured some $6 billion into fighting

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crime over the past decade, with what critics say is a noticeable lack of success.

"Yesterday, Bell was at a Senate hearing endorsing a proposal sponsored by Senator Edward M. Kennedy that would make changes in that much-criticized agency, but also increase its budget by 25 per cent.

"Along the way, Bell admitted yesterday, with his usual candor, he ran into political reality: a coalition of members of Congress and criminal justice interest groups who promised to fight the LEAA dismantling proposed by the Carter administration.

"'I found that Washington is a strange city,' the attorney general explained to Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr. yesterday. 'You have to get along with so many different groups. . . .'"

I fear Lynne Bernabei's article in this issue, along with several other things we've said in recent years, will make people think we are anti-Nader. We do try to take seriously our obligation to criticize ourselves and the liberal movement of which, on the whole, we consider ourselves a part and of which Ralph Nader is one of the most important members. But all things considered, we admire Nader. Indeed, it is my personal opinion that in his indifference to material reward he is a modern saint. . . . Several friends have asked me why I was so snide in our last issue about the nuclear power protesters. What I said was, "How do causes suddenly become chic? To the extent nuclear power plants are a threat, the danger has existed for years. Yet only recently has it become an issue in vogue." The reason I wrote these words is that in our early years I had to sweat to get liberal writers to deal with this issue. Although I was constantly seeking such articles, I was able to get only three between 1969 and 1973. It was only after John McPhee did his piece on the subject in *The New Yorker* in early 1974 that the subject began to become fashionable in liberal circles. And even then, protesting nuclear power didn't really take off until *Rolling Stone* magazine got on the case with a series of articles on the death of Karen Silkwood, articles that conjured up the visions of conspiracy and cover-up the left so loves to read about.

How does a defense contractor go about the complex task of lobbying the White House, the Congress, the press, and the Pentagon? George C. Wilson of *The Washington Post* looked at how the Northrop Corporation does it and found that Northrop has 61 former military officers on its payroll. Its lobbyists include Jack Paris III, the director of the Georgia National Guard when Jimmy Carter was governor, William Timmons, a major Republican lobbyist, Jack McDonald, a former congressman, and Stanley Sommer, a former reporter and Senate staff member. . . . Billy Clayton is our new hero. He's the speaker of the lower house of the Texas legislature and has his staff working on a bill to limit tenure at the University of Texas to ten-year appointments. . . . Those of you who despair of ever getting liberals and conservatives out of their respective prisons will be heartened by a recent vote in the U.S. Senate on a bill that would provide credit for consumer co-ops. It was supported by Gaylord Nelson, Paul Sarbanes, Dick Clark, and John Durkin, *and* by Robert Dole, Robert Griffin, Russell Long, and S.I. Hayakawa. . . . I must say that I find myself in sympathy with those hawks who want to be able to monitor Russian compliance with disarmament agreements. A recent book, *Hitler's Spies* by David Kahn, points out that in 1941 the Germans thought the Russians had 200 divisions. They had 360. Similar errors were made in estimating Russian armor (there were 24,000 tanks instead of the 10,000 predicted) and air power (9,000 planes instead of 5,000). If the Russians could fool German Intelligence, isn't it possible that they might fool us?

—*Charles Peters*

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How to Make the Front Page

by Joseph Nocera

I've been feeling a little sorry for Jennings Randolph lately. Here he is, at the age of 76, so long ensconced as the senior senator from West Virginia it's difficult to remember him ever doing anything else, and he's got himself all tangled up in an awful reelection fight. Surely, this is not what Randolph had in mind when he decided he wanted to keep his job awhile longer.

In the primary, his opponent formed The Committee To Dump The Tub Of Lard, a title which seemed to lack that certain degree of respect normally afforded an elder, if somewhat plump, statesman. Now in the general election, Randolph faces former governor Arch Moore, a politician 21 years younger, light years more photogenic, and, according to the polls, popular enough to win. Randolph is roaming the West Virginia countryside with a tenacity he hasn't shown in decades, politicking, speechmaking, *defending his record* (and wondering, no doubt, whatever happened to the democratic principle of token opposition), and still, he is only an even money bet to keep his seat. He hires renowned political consultant David Garth to defend his record, and even that doesn't improve his odds.

So, faced with this grim political reality, what does Randolph do? *He buys a telecopier,* a wonderful little machine that allows one to transmit, say, a press release over the telephone. This was a smart, if long overdue, move on Randolph's part, a firm step into the modern era of congressional press relations. In a tough race, of course, it is vital to have your name in the paper regularly, blasting away at some bloated federal bureaucracy one day, announcing a federal grant the next, and in recent years the telecopier has become one of the primary devices to ensure that kind of coverage.

The problem, though, was that never having worried much about the press before, Randolph and his staff were novices when it came to actually making intelligent use of their newly bought telecopier. They had an annoying habit, for example, of sending press releases to newspapers that were five minutes away from deadline and anxiously awaiting the racing results over the telecopier. Then there was the time the Randolph crew sent, via telecopier, a release to *The Charleston Gazette,* proudly announcing a $2 million grant. The paper, however, had predicted the grant two days earlier (something Randolph's staff had failed to notice) and therefore felt quite justified in burying all references to Randolph when they ran the announcement story. To further exacerbate an already bad situation, a Randolph aide then chewed out a city desk reporter for failing to give proper "credit" to Randolph, a move that clearly did not endear Jennings Randolph to the *Gazette* staff.

There are other horror stories, but you get the picture. Jennings Randolph, whatever his other virtues, is never going to have what it takes to get great press. In this age of tough, investigative journalism, it takes more than mere technology to get the press to tell *your* story the way *you* want it told.

Joseph Nocera is an editor of The Washington Monthly.

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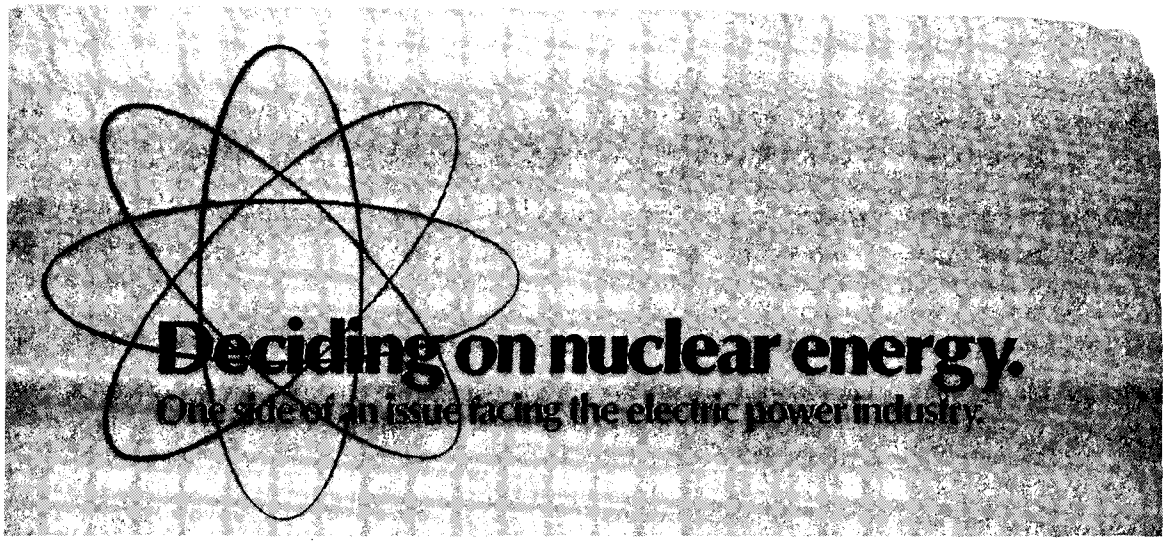

Nuclear power is not the energy form of the future. It is very much a part of the present. And important national decisions must be made if it is to continue to make its contribution to energy supply.

Nuclear plants have been generating electricity commercially in the U.S. since 1957. Today, 71 plants provide 12% of this country's electricity—about as much as we get from hydro-electric dams, more than *all* electric power generated in the country in 1946. In some areas, most of the electricity people use is nuclear. 95 more nuclear stations are now under construction. The number of countries with nuclear power programs is now 53.

A clean record

Nuclear generation of electricity has grown because of its safety, reliability and economy. No other industry started with a greater appreciation of potential hazards. None is operated under more stringent occupational and environmental safeguards.

The American Medical Association's Council on Scientific Affairs recently reported that, of the principal fuels available for electricity production over the next 25 years, nuclear power has the lowest adverse impact on health.

The near future

Nuclear power makes economic sense in meeting growing energy demands and in reducing the nation's dependence on oil and gas.

Unless we try to rely entirely on coal production for generation, or to shut down the economy until forms like solar power prove affordable, nuclear power will become increasingly important to the near-term well-being of the country.

Nuclear policy

The electric utility industry agrees with the many expert opinions that ultimate disposal of radioactive wastes presents no insurmountable technical problems. Several acceptable methods are available.

But failure of the federal government to implement available nuclear waste disposal technology is being mistakenly seen as an indication that the nuclear waste issue cannot be resolved.

Recently, we urged the Administration to take advantage of extensive, existing technical and scientific knowledge and to implement a program on a rigid schedule to provide a spent-fuel storage facility and a waste repository at the earliest practical time. These steps are necessary to assure the continued operation of nuclear power plants, to minimize the uncertainty that has been slowing down commitments for future nuclear plants in this country, and to separate the waste disposal issue from the licensing of new power plants.

Congress has divided responsibility for the national waste management program among several agencies of the federal government. The Department of Energy, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Environmental Protection Agency have elements of responsibility.

Now, Congress must provide additional effective legislative guidance for the waste management and spent-fuel storage programs.

The long run

Opinion polls repeatedly show that majorities of the American people support the use of nuclear energy to generate electricity. Where nuclear plants are in operation, the percentages are even higher.

If we are to be able to take advantage of the economic and energy-supply opportunities presented by nuclear energy, both in the near term and the long term, the federal government will need to take responsible action today.

If you would like to read more about nuclear energy as a source of electricity or learn more about the management of high-level radioactive wastes and spent fuel, write to us: Edison Electric Institute, 90 Park Ave., New York, NY 10016. We will be glad to send you more information.

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Can't Be a Nice Guy

Chairman of the Public Works Committee is the powerful post Randolph holds in the Senate. He is a master grantsman for West Virginia, creating dams where there was only river, and highways where there was dirt. Thoughtful and helpful constituent servicer, honest public servant, Randolph is all of this, too. But you can't spend your entire congressional career just being a nice guy and doing good things for your constituents and the country and expect great press. It doesn't work that way. To get great press you have to create *news,* and that's a different matter entirely. None of this quiet, behind-the-scenes stuff that Jennings Randolph prefers. That won't do at all. You've got to be out front, hopping on the issues, demanding investigations, railing at recalcitrant witnesses, declaring, observing, challenging, contending, emphasizing. Getting great press—let's admit it out loud—is a lot of hard work and long hours. To do it right, to do it with the flair that all the great ones have, takes a combination of natural ability and years of study; it is part instinct, part art form, and part science.

The right mix of all three will produce what *Staff* magazine (that's right, there is really a magazine for the congressional staff aide) calls "a top congressional communicator." Sam Rayburn, a bit less euphemistically, used to call them "showboats." I call them Headline Hunters, perhaps because of my days as a newspaper reporter covering Congress, when I often had the feeling I was their prey. Howard Metzenbaum, the Ohio senator—"Headline Howie," his staff has been known to call him—is a classic of the genre. Barely had he moved into his Senate office as a freshman two years ago when he began to show us his stuff. It was awe-inspiring. There was Metzenbaum, answering his own phone calls every morning for an hour—actually talking to real live constituents. Because he worried about their social security checks? Think again. "He thought *Time* magazine or CBS or someone would be interested in coming in and doing something on a senator who answers his own phone calls," recalls a former aide. He was only too right. After the press secretary, on orders from Metzenbaum, took enough reporters to lunch to tout the-senator-who-talks-on-the-phone-to-constituents, the networks were there, filming away.

Good headline hunting is also part addiction. You can't just want great press, you've got to love it, crave it, mainline it. A front-page story, with a big front-page headline should send chills up your spine and bring tears of joy to your eyes. Jennings Randolph obviously has never had any need for the euphoric high that only a picture *above the fold* can bring. Ed Zorinsky has.

As the mayor of Omaha, Zorinsky found that one good way to get stories written about himself was to take the door off his office. This, of course, reporters saw as a symbol of the openness of his administration. Then, a year ago January, Zorinsky came to Washington as the new senator from Nebraska and, you guessed it, promptly took the door off his office. The Washington press corps, which has seen much, much better than that, didn't bat an eyelash.

But did this stop Zorinsky? Not a bit. He devised a new scheme within weeks, one that was guaranteed to get him on the front page. It was deceptively simple: after about two months in office, Zorinsky announced to a *Washington Star* reporter that the Senate was a mess, that he didn't think it could ever get anything done, and therefore he had seriously considered quitting to find another line of work. Such heresy did not endear Zorinsky to his fellow legislators, but no matter, it was the lead story of the night. That's the important thing. Nor did it make much difference that Zorinsky never really meant it (he had, in fact, made the whole thing up)—that is something other quality headline hunters could

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understand and sympathize with. The man needed a quick fix and was willing to do just about anything to get it.

That kind of shameless, get-press-at-any-cost attitude can't be taught. You've either got it or you don't, and all the great ones have it.

Good headline hunting is part addiction. You can't just want great press, you've got to love it, crave it, mainline it.

What they've also got, though, is technique, exquisite technique, refined and perfected from years of hunting. Some of the more obvious requisites—the importance of being quotable and accessible, for example—were described by *Staff* magazine in their eight-part series on "top congressional communicators." But *Staff* never ventured beyond the obvious, and therefore missed the dozens of tricks of the trade that exist in the byzantine world of headline hunting, passed on only by word of mouth from generation to generation of press secretaries. They are the techniques that separate the genuine articles from the pretenders, the Metzenbaums from the Randolphs. If you aspire to greatness, you've got to know these things.

I know it's not something talked about openly on Capitol Hill, but there are a lot of congressmen who are still struggling with the art of headline hunting, who no matter how hard they try can't seem to get great press. If you're one of those unfortunates—if your press releases are forever winding up on the obituary page or, heaven forbid, not getting in the paper at all—then this article can be your salvation. I have uncovered the hidden secrets of headline hunting, and I am going to share them with the pressless among you.

It hasn't been an easy task. Over the last few weeks I've talked to people who have covered or have been associated with some of the better known hunters trying to pry from them these long-held secrets. These have been weeks of arduous research and expense account lunches, but I think they have paid off, for I have compiled a list of the best of the techniques, which I present here for the first time. They are in no particular order; some are as old as an Imperial typewriter, others are new, designed to take advantage of the needs and wants of the modern press corps. You've got to supply the right attitude—that's not my department. But if you can do that and you follow these simple rules, you'll see an improvement in the press you get within days. I call what follows *The Joy of Hunting Headlines: A Do-It-Yourself Manual to Better Press*. It is dedicated to Ed Zorinsky.

The Trained Seals

1. Forget about standards. This is basic. If you care only about coverage in *The New York Times,* then you're going to spend most of your time being disappointed unless your name is Ted Kennedy. You've got to be able to get a kick out of seeing a story in the weeklies in your district or hearing the pear-shaped tones of your voice on the local radio station or watching yourself on Salt Lake City television. For inspiration, you should look to Rep. Mario Biaggi—there's a man with no standards whatsoever, and he's always being quoted. In fact, at the *National Enquirer* he is known as a "trained seal," because he is always so ready with a quote about the latest UFO scandal. Sen. William Proxmire is another

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standard-bearer (so to speak) in this regard. Not only is he a constant source of quotes and meaningless information for the *Enquirer,* but he is the only senator I'm aware of who has made news for the *National Lampoon,* which did a recent two-page spread on his Golden Fleece awards.

2. *Abuse the wires.* The Associated Press has a 87-man bureau in Washington and United Press International has another 58 reporters, and they are all there to serve your every need and whim.

I once saw a congressman storm up to the House press gallery after an inconsequential vote, shouting to the gallery superintendent: "Get me a reporter from the wires. I just saved my district $10 million."

The wires are especially useful as vehicles for laundering press releases into news your local papers will run. Rep. Max Baucus, a Montana Democrat and one of the last of the great press release writers (press releases are fast falling out of fashion, about which more later), never sends his releases to the Montana dailies any more. When you send out two releases a day proclaiming that you've done everything but balance the federal budget, your papers can fall out of the habit of running them regularly, which was the case in Montana. But the wires are not nearly as discriminating, so Baucus now telecopies his releases to the AP bureau in Helena, which (sometimes) rewrite the lead and always sends the rest of it out verbatim. With the AP imprimatur, the local papers feel less guilty about running Baucus' releases.

Have you ever seen a politician who sat in his office all day profiled in *People* magazine? Of course not. They jog, they make dinner, they do exciting things.

Another way to make the wires pay attention is to have a newspaper that subscribes to AP or UPI demand wire coverage of some event in which you plan to shine. Senator Richard Schweiker has this routine down pat. He's holding a press conference and no one wants to come? That's no problem for Schweiker. He has friends on the *Philadelphia Bulletin* who will request wire coverage of the Schweiker press conference after Schweiker requests that they request coverage. It's not something the people at the *Bulletin* like to talk about particularly, but they haven't let Schweiker down yet.

Finally, if the Washington correspondent of your hometown paper has been giving you a hard time recently, you can avoid him entirely by feeding your stuff to the wires. Rep. Jim Maddox of Texas learned this not too long ago. His office called the local Washington correspondent on the eve of the House Assassinations Committee's hearing with this hush-hush message: "Psst. Get over here soon. We've got Jack Ruby's gun."

The problem was that Ruby's gun had never been the subject of much controversy, had never been part of any of the great conspiracy theories, and the reporter, who was something of an assassinations buff himself and therefore knew this, declined to spend the afternoon watching the congressman fondle a well-known gun. A shrewd Maddox got around this potential dilemma by calling AP, which sent over a reporter and a photographer. In the next morning's paper the AP reporter dutifully quoted Maddox denying that he had wanted any coverage of his "role" in getting the gun.

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"The general public and the press weren't aware of what I was doing until [the present owner of the gun] released the story, I believe," he said. Which, one must admit, is another nice thing about the wires: they never try to embarrass you by asking questions. Wire reporters understand your need for press.

3. Quote Shakespeare. This is a very popular way to get press with some of the veterans on Capitol Hill. Show that you have some culture, that you're a little different and more diversified than your average, boring, workaholic congressman, and the papers will write puff about you well into eternity. Sam Ervin, Dan Flood, and Bob Eckhardt (who wears a cute bow tie as well) are the acknowledged masters here.

Flood, as you surely know, was recently indicted on a few counts of perjury, but even last winter, when investigative reporters were hot on his trail, Flood also got huge doses of sympathetic press even from reporters as hard-nosed as Jack Anderson. The reason is that Flood is flamboyant—not only a noted quoter of Shakespeare, but a wearer of capes and rings, and a long, thin waxed moustache.

Among the younger members, John Burton deserves mention as one who can separate himself from the boring, workaholic pack. He's the one who offered the blank amendment to the CIA appropriations bill, which, because it was classified, could not be revealed to the congressmen who were supposed to vote on it.

Jokes fall into this category, also. Reporters like to laugh, just like anyone else, and they'll write nice things about people who make them laugh. Rep. Silvio Conte ("When I told Proxmire I was going to nominate him for a Golden Fleece, I thought his last ten hairs would fall out"), has no peers in this department.

Senator Mike Gravel of Alaska, not generally known as a man of enormous wit, has proposed on occasion his idea to build a teflon-coated, domed city at the foot of Mt. McKinley. It would help tourism, he says. Now no one knows for sure if he meant that as a joke, but reporters invariably take it that way and it gets him numerous front-page stories.

4. Feud your way to the top. Here we can learn a lesson from Rep. Edward Beard, a Rhode Island Democrat, who in only two terms has become one of the real marksmen in headline hunting. Beard once feuded his way to an international incident. Here's how he did it:

It was right after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and Beard was visiting the island, anxious to get some news of his travels to his Greek constituents. "He came by the hotel one night looking for reporters," recalls one who was there at the time. "He told us he was going to the occupied zone." The reporters, who didn't have much else to do that day, followed Beard to the border, which was being guarded by a couple of very old, very feeble soldiers. "The next thing we knew," says the reporter, "Beard was screaming at the top of his lungs, demanding that they allow him, an American congressman, to cross over." Of course, he had no papers, so the two old guards had no choice but to refuse him passage. Then, in a sudden stroke of misfortune, one of the guards accidentally dropped his machine gun from his shoulder to his elbow, giving Beard one of the golden headline hunting moments in the history of foreign affairs. The story the next day said it all: "Beard accuses Turks of holding him at gunpoint at the border."

However, you usually don't have to go quite this far when you are feuding for press. The most common technique these days is to pick a fight with Carter. If you're from California or Colorado, fight with him over water policy. If South Dakota is your state, hit him on the administration's unfair cement policies (cement is very big in South Dakota). If your constituency is ideologically attuned to Rep. Larry McDonald, the Georgia Democrat who once belonged to the John Birch society, then join with McDonald in calling for Andrew Young's impeachment.

But in order to get great press from

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feuding, you have to make sure the press knows you're in a fight. With administration feuds, this can be done quite easily by sending Carter a blistering letter (which the President presumably will never read) or by making a tough attack on administration policies in a speech in your district (which the President will presumably never hear). In fact, that's the best part about fighting with the President: there's a good chance that when you have to go to him for a favor he won't know that you've been fighting with him.

5. Start a caucus. A very "in" technique these days. There is almost no way you can run out of things over which to start a congressional caucus, and you are guaranteed at least one brief flurry of stories and television interviews when you announce its formation. It is the perfect way to show your constituents that your brow is permanently furrowed from constantly worrying about their problems. The steel industry is in trouble? Start a steel caucus. The farmers are mad, you say? Well, start a farm caucus. There are now caucuses for everything from ball bearings to blue-collar workers.

And don't worry about there being a lot of extra work. The secret to caucuses is that they never actually *do* anything. (In its year of existence, for example, the Blue Collar Caucus has taken only one action, a call for an increase in the minimum wage.) You needn't fear looking silly by starting a caucus for some wildly obscure cause. If Mario Biaggi can be the chairman of the Irish caucus, how silly can you look by comparison?

6. Go to the White House often. A trip to the White House is one of the few chances you will have to make the network news, so you have to use it wisely. The first lesson is that you can't be bashful just because the President is in the vicinity. Thus, Metzenbaum, knowing the cameras are always poised for the first person to leave a White House meeting, has been known to excuse himself early from group conferences with the President, begging pressing engagements. This way, he is not only the first one out the door, he doesn't even have to fight with anyone for the total attention of the cameras.

Margaret "I'll Walk A Mile For A Camera" Heckler, a Massachusetts Republican, is notorious for her ability to scratch, claw, and elbow her way to the position just behind Carter at a bill-signing ceremony. That is the spot which ensures the front-page picture.

Another prominent headline hunter is Toby Moffett, the second-term Democrat from Connecticut. Moffett has shown traces of brilliance during his White House visits. Once, after a meeting with Carter, Moffett and his press secretary, Willie Blacklow, found there were no cameras waiting outside and no reporters poised to scribble. What was the matter? As it turns out, Rex Granum had decided to begin the daily White House briefing at exactly the moment the visiting congressmen were supposed to leave. Moffett and Blacklow, however, were not deterred. They sat in the press room, patiently waiting for nearly an hour until Granum finished his briefing. Then, with Granum done, Blacklow stood up, waved his arms and shouted: "Over here, over here!" Sam Donaldson ("Bless his soul," says Blacklow) pointed his finger at the flailing press secretary and shouted to his cameraman, "Over there!" Moffett made the network news that night.

7. Take up jogging and get a big kitchen. With personality journalism sweeping the country's newspapers and magazines, it is incumbent upon you to do more with your life than legislate all day. How boring. Have you ever seen a politician who sat in his office all day profiled in *People* magazine? Of course not. They jog, they make dinner, they do fun, exciting things. Getting divorced can also be helpful, for it is practically a written invitation for reporters to profile the "new you" getting by in your "bachelor's quarters" and learning to date again.

If you are serious about your press coverage, though, you have got to be able to apply the big kitchen theory to

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your work. Let's be honest, reading about dedicated legislators writing the nation's laws has a somnambulant effect on most of us. So you've got to liven up those issues, make your concern for your constituents seem at once fascinating, interesting, and enjoyable. Those who do this well create photo opportunities. Heckler shows her real genius in applying this rule to practice. You'll never, ever, see her at a press conference droning on boringly on some issue or other. When Heckler wants to blast the peanut support program, she brings along peanuts. Jars of peanut butter. Buckets of peanuts. She wants to show the camera the evil peanut, so she picks some up, holds them in her hands, puts her fingers through them. Another time the subject was coal, and sure enough Heckler brought to her press conference a large chunk of coal, the better to illustrate the theory that both it and her head could fit perfectly within the confines of a 12-inch television screen.

Another "big kitchen" person is Beard. His big kitchen is his roots—when he was elected to Congress he was a professional housepainter making $9,000 a year, and he vowed never to forget it. Nor will he ever let you forget it. As you walk into his office, you see a paint brush on the wall. If he is being interviewed, he is likely to pull out another brush he always carries in his coat pocket. He once said he was going to put a mannequin of a housepainter in a corner of his office as a constant reminder. Beard probably has gotten more mileage out of his paint brush since he came to Congress than he ever did when he was painting houses.

8. Chair a subcommittee. If you have ever wondered why there are so many subcommittees in Congress, the answer is simple: it makes for lots of subcommittee chairmen, and that in turn makes for lots of fun headlines. A chairmanship is one of the best vehicles around for the intelligent headline hunter.

Here again we need to look no further than Howard Metzenbaum for guidance. Metzenbaum has perfected the art of turning his subcommittee into a revolving media show. The first trick is to get a subcommittee, and Metzenbaum worked hard to be named the chairman of the newly created Citizens and Shareholders Rights and Remedies Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. That sounds like it has a rather broad jurisdiction, and it does, perfect as a sounding-board for commenting on the issues of the day. Metzenbaum's big issue these days is energy. He is currently making a career out of accusing the oil and gas industry of "ripping-off" (a bit of sixties lingo adopted by all first-rate headline hunters) consumers. His subcommittee provides the forum for leveling a weekly string of venomous adjectives at some helpless oil and gas industry spokesman.

Television loves slander, so if you are going to accuse someone of corruption, half way measures won't do. You've got to slander someone.

The Metzenbaum method usually begins on Friday afternoons when he sends a "media package" to the Ohio papers, and in particular to the friendly crew who work in the Washington bureau of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. It will list the upcoming witnesses, the outrages committed by industry that

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led Metzenbaum to call the hearing in the first place, and Metzenbaum's opening statement. It is always embargoed until Sunday, giving the reporters time to digest this information, and assuring Metzenbaum a front-page Sunday story with the inevitable lead: "Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, will hold a hearing tomorrow to reveal. . . ." This story is known as the "curtain-raiser."

When Monday rolls around, Metzenbaum holds his hearing early enough so that it can make the 6:00 news in Ohio. He will often release a "document" he has "obtained" from the inner bowels of the Department of Energy that had been hidden by some of those perfidious DOE bureaucrats. These documents may or may not pertain to the matter at hand; there was the time, for example, that the Metzenbaum document about the energy bill concerned the wrong draft of the bill and was therefore no longer applicable. Which illustrates another great Metzenbaum press principle: never let the facts get in the way of a good subcommittee hearing. Nor are these hearings the time for compassion, for getting at the truth, for acting responsibly. Quite the opposite: if you plan to create news with your subcommittee, see Rule 9.

9. Slander someone. This is self-explanatory. Television loves slander, so if you are going to accuse someone of corruption, halfway measures won't do. You've got to blast them, rip them, slander them. By all means, throw caution to the wind. And don't worry, congressmen are immune from libel and slander suits when done in the line of headline hunting.

10. Go to the scene of the crime. For those few of you who are unlucky enough not to have a subcommittee (unfortunately, all of you Republicans out there fit into this category), you have to make the best of what you have. The one thing every congressman and senator has is a district, a district usually full of pressing problems and crises, and constituents looking for leadership. To get your name in the paper, you don't have to solve any of these problems, nobody expects you to do that, but you do have to let people know that you know the problems exist.

So, the big problem in Pennsylvania is its rotting highways and shaky bridges? Where will you find Senator John Heinz of Pennsylvania every few months but standing on a shaky Pennsylvania bridge complaining about the Carter administration's bridge repair plan. He'll inspect the bridge, of course, maybe walk across it if it doesn't look as if it will collapse right there on television, and remind the local officials and reporters that he, John Heinz, has been worried about bridges for years. You don't have to refine the technique quite to the degree that Heinz does—when he looks for a rural bridge, he wants to find *the* rural bridge geographically located to attract reporters and cameras from five major media markets in Pennsylvania—but it helps. This technique is often the only way headline hunters can get the attention they so desperately need if they come from sophisticated media towns, like Los Angeles or Philadelphia, where the

The new great ones, the Toby Moffetts, have further refined headline hunting by leaking. . . . The new press release is press release by leak.

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competition for television or newspaper play is fierce.

11. Provide newspegs. When it comes to providing newspegs, no one in the history of headline hunting has ever come close to Rep. Les Aspin, the Wisconsin Democrat who has to rank high on everyone's all-time all-star team. He has toned down in the past few years, run out of steam, they say, but when he first came to Congress, Aspin set up his office like a newsroom. It was a para-journalistic operation, complete with national staff looking for material to feed the wires and the national press corps and a "state" staff putting out releases on *two cycles* (different release times for the morning and afternoon papers) to satisfy his Wisconsin papers. In his heyday, Aspin was notorious, not the least bit bashful about jumping on an issue in another Wisconsin congressman's district—which is usually considered a breach of etiquette.

Aspin's great contribution to the art of hunting headlines was in his innovative ability to create newspegs, those nuggets of information upon which a reporter can hang a story. You never saw an Aspin release that simply had Aspin saying something. Aspin releases were always full of *information* Aspin was *releasing*—in other words, news. He was one of the first to realize that if you want coverage, and a lot of it, you have to do most of the reporting for the reporters. Reporters were only too happy to put their bylines on his staff's legwork. At a time when investigative reporting was becoming the prestige beat it is now, Aspin's staff did their best to respond to that need.

It was simple. The staff would spend days scouring old committee reports, defense reports, intelligence reports, public reports, any kind of reports, looking for information that would make a good story. Reporters usually find this task boring, so the Aspin staff had the whole report field to themselves.

Sometimes Aspin would want to make a point that was not in a report, or that didn't quite jibe with reality. Here he had to use his ingenuity to create a newspeg—and he did. He created reports where none existed. The Aspin staff would take the point they wanted to make to the Congressional Research Service, a research arm of the Library of Congress with a reputation for objectivity, and ask it to do the report. The CRS staff was politically astute enough to know how the results of their "objective" report should turn out. Aspin could then release a report, giving his charges an authenticity they wouldn't otherwise have. Today, this is a widely imitated technique.

"We also would send out anything with a number in the lead," says one former aide. "The number was the key. If it had a number, you could count on its getting picked up." And that's another trick that's been widely imitated—think of the dozens of press releases that begin, "If you put all the potholes in America end to end. . . ."

On a continuing story the Aspin staff would milk it by coming up with new angles every day, or sometimes two a day, to keep those afternoon papers happy. There was the time an aide found out the Army was doing experiments on beagle puppies. Every time the Aspin newspeg operation hit a dry spell, they just found another puppy being abused by the Army.

The Aspin method of finding newspegs and graciously handing the information over to reporters is being copied by almost everyone else trying to hunt headlines. Rep. Michael Harrington, for one, has based his whole media career (outside of his CIA expose fiasco) on something called the Northeast-Midwest Coalition, a collection of congressmen who contend that the frostbelt is not getting its share of federal money. To prove it, the coalition is forever doing studies on one aspect or another of the federal budget that they purport proves the point. Harrington gets a story in every little paper in every state in the coalition because he is smart enough to break down the figures, city by city,

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state by state. That kind of attention to the local angle is superb newspegging.

12. Use the electronics. That's what they're there for. The telecopier is only one of a number of devices around to help you get press. For radio (always starved for news) there's the quote-a-phone, into which you can take a stand, on tape, and then have it transmitted to all the stations in your district. For television, the key is to know how to make the reporter's life easier. Know the flight schedules so the film gets to the station on time. Know how many stations the reporter is shooting for—many Washington stringers shoot the same story for a number of stations—so you can repeat the same catchy quote three times. Know what questions to ask. That's right; you see, most television reporters in Washington don't know a thing about the areas they are covering for, so if you can supply them with the question you want to answer, they will be grateful, and you will end up looking like a star. Know how to say everything you have to say in 30 seconds. If you have problems in this area, don't give up—help is on the way. Do you think the House went to all that trouble to install a television system purely for the public's benefit? Let's not be naive about this. All you have to do is have your press secretary tap into the system while you are speaking on the House floor, edit your comments down to the required 30 seconds, and send it out to radio stations across the district.

A good leak can be used to handle a difficult reporter, one who won't write about anything that comes in press release form. Ah, but he's a sucker for a leak.

Finally, let's not forget about ol' reliable: the telephone. What reporter is going to turn down a call from the congressman? Beard calls the *Providence Journal* four or five times a day with everything from advice on how to improve their job performance, to announcements that he is going to box a few rounds with Muhammad Ali, to anecdotes about Air Force Two (when he was on the plane, flying towards Europe on a recent junket, he couldn't help calling the *Journal* to see if the phone in the plane really worked.)

13. Be a leaker. Les Aspin notwithstanding, press releases are now pretty much in disrepute among the Washington press corps. They're the bane of the press criticism magazines and the new breed of tough, sharp reporters and editors who have vowed to go beyond the press release.

The solution is that you have to go beyond press releases too. Keeping up with the times is an important part of headline hunting. This does not mean you cannot still get your message out, it just means you have to be a little sharper, a little shrewder than you had to be ten years ago. Aspin took a giant step forward with his newspegs. The new great ones, the Toby Moffetts, have further refined the technique by *leaking* their newspegs. The new press release is press release by leak.

Leaking can take a number of forms. First, it is helpful if you, the congressman, act as a source for those behind-the-scenes events reporters can't see. It's not too hard—you can be gossipy, catty, you can say awful things about your committee chairman and get away with it—since as a source you won't be quoted by name. (Try to avoid overdoing this, however. Lowell Weiker still hasn't gotten over those

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accusations that during Watergate he "over-leaked.") The more a reporter relies on you as a source, the less likely the chances his newspaper will investigate your shady fundraiser.

Just as important is to have a press secretary who loves to leak. One leak lover says: "It seems that every time I talk to a reporter, I always say four things: 'Let's have coffee.' 'This is off-the-record.' 'Don't mention my boss' name.' And, 'You owe me one.'" If your press secretary is leaking something that reflects nicely on you, make sure the reporter knows he has to plug you in the third paragraph. One of the great leakers on Rep. John Moss' staff is said to have suggested this paragraph to reporters: "Rep. John Moss stopped long enough from his daily walk across the Tidal Basin today to demand an investigation into. . . ." If, on the other hand, you know some reporter is hot on your trail, have your press aide leak your side of the story to the reporter, thereby defusing much of the possible trouble.

If you can combine leaking with investigating, then you've really got something cooking. Toby Moffett leaks like crazy about Conrail. His staff has developed good sources inside Conrail who feed them information that they then feed to reporters. It can get tricky, however, especially when another congressman, using *his* Conrail source, is trying to beat you on the story (usually the first supplier of information gets the free plug in the third paragraph). That's when you have to fall back on Rule 12. Use that telecopier, quickly.

Sometimes a good leak can be used to handle a particularly difficult reporter. The California delegation has to deal with one reporter who simply won't write about anything that comes in press release form. Ah, but he is a sucker for a leak. So several of the better press secretaries have learned to leave a crumpled, tattered piece of paper on their desks when the reporter walks in. He goes slightly beserk when he spots this piece of paper, obviously not meant for his eyes, and asks for it. With great reluctance they turn it over—begging him never to reveal where he got the information—and our news hound gets his scoop: today's press release, in crumpled, tattered form.

Sometimes, Do Nothing

If you have tried all these rules and you are still not getting great press, then you probably just don't have what it takes; your attitude may be wrong or you may be lacking in natural ability. There's always the chance, though, that you'll get lucky and get press even when you aren't looking for it. Rep. William Natcher of Kentucky is a good example. Natcher has been in Congress for 24 years and has one of the most abysmal legislative records in history. He has no legislative or administrative assistants—just some secretaries. He spends his days reading all his own mail and answering it. He gets his kicks presiding over the House floor, an activity he is allowed to do quite often, since no one else wants to. The only bills he sponsors have to do with District of Columbia appropriations, because he is chairman of the D.C. appropriations subcommittee. His only claim to fame is that he has answered every vote call, every quorum call, every roll call, since he came to Congress, 10,443 of them in a row—a record of non-accomplishment that boggles the mind. Yet when he set the all-time record for consecutive roll calls answered a few years ago (and made the *Guinness Book of World Records*), reporters—whom he despises as a group and has run away from more than once—came knocking on his door to do stories about his record. They all wrote that he was the model congressman, the ideal legislator, who worked hard at answering quorum calls. It was an amazing bit of press even if Natcher hadn't planned it that way.

But don't expect that to happen to you—you'll have to spend many a year doing nothing to get *that* kind of great press. ■

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Who's Who in the Carter Administration

Gregg Schneiders continues his comeback to power among the Carter insiders. . . . **William Quandt** is **Brzezinski**'s most influential assistant on Middle East matters. . . . With the departure of **Sally Shelton** from her job as deputy assistant secretary of state, only one person remains from the original Carter team for Latin American affairs. . . . It seems unlikely that **James McIntyre**, director of the Office of Management and Budget, will make either **Harrison Wellford** or **Bowman Cutter** his deputy. They are his top operating officials and each would like to either get the deputy's job or not have it filled. But the betting is that McIntyre will appoint another mediocrity like himself. . . . **Charles Schultze** seems to have emerged as the administration's number one economic policy maker. . . . Why did **Hamilton Jordan** hire 65-year-old **Louis Martin** as White House political liaison to the black community? A black Hamilton Jordan with ties to the up-and-coming black political leaders would have made a bit more sense.

WHITE HOUSE

Special Assistant for Minority Affairs—Louis E. Martin will perform essentially the same duties he had in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, where he tended to political relations with blacks.

Special Assistant for Public Interest and Minority Groups—Sarah Weddington, has been the general counsel for the Department of Agriculture, will replace Midge Costanza. She is a former member of the Texas legislature, where she fought for women's causes. She won the 1973 Supreme Court case to liberalize abortion. Her personal style is said to be the opposite of Costanza's: she is a soft-spoken woman who doesn't ruffle feathers.

AGRICULTURE

Acting Administrator of Food Safety and Quality Service—Sydney Zutler was deputy assistant secretary.

COMMERCE

Deputy Undersecretary—Frederick Schenk was responsible for field coordination of department programs in Region II, based in New York.

DEFENSE

Defense Communications Agency

Director—Vice-Admiral Samuel Gravely, the highest-ranking black in the armed

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forces, was commander of naval operations between the West Coast and Hawaii.

ENERGY

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Utility and Industrial Energy Applications—Stanley I. Weiss was vice-president for advanced programs and development in the space systems division of Lockheed Missile.

HEW

Special Assistant to Commissioner of Education—Rafael Valdiviesco was co-director of the National Institute for Education's programs to increase the number of women and minorities in education research and development.

Director of the Office of Consumer Affairs—Esther Peterson will also continue at the White House as special assistant to the President for consumer affairs, although Peterson originally was hired with the understanding that she would not hold both positions.

HUD

Inspector General—Charles L. Dempsey has been acting head of the department's investigation staff.

INTERIOR

Deputy Undersecretary—Steve F. Freudenthal was an aide to Wyoming Gov. Ed Herschler.

JUSTICE

Associate Deputy Attorney General—Charles F. Ruff, the last of the Watergate special prosecutors, has been deputy inspector general at HEW for the last 15 months. He will be senior attorney on Deputy Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti's staff.

STATE

Ambassador to Venezuela—William H. Luers was deputy assistant secretary of state for European affairs.

Ambassador to Togo—Marilyn Johnson was the U.S. cultural affairs officer in Moscow.

Member of delegation to UN General Assembly—Sally A. Shelton was deputy assistant secretary for inter-American affairs.

AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

Agency for International Development

Assistant Administrator for Bureau for Private and Development Cooperation—Calvin H. Raullerson was executive director of the International Center for Arid and Semi-Arid Land Studies at Texas Tech University and served on the Peace Corps staff in Washington and Africa.

Federal Deposit and Insurance Corp.

Acting Chairman—John G. Heimann, formerly New York State Superintendent of Banks, is the Comptroller of the Currency.

Federal Election Commission

Member of the Board—John McGarry, special counsel to the House Administration Committee and friend of Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, has been renominated despite failing to disclose certain financial dealings.

General Services Administration

Deputy Administrator—Paul Goulding's 30-day appointment is now permanent.

Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp.

Director of Congressional and Government Relations—Mary Bruce Batte served under the assistant secretary for direct and insured loans at HUD.

Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission

Member—Jerome R. Waldie is a former member of Congress from California.

International Communications Agency

Associate Director—James D. Isbister, vice-president of the Orkland Corp., was administrator of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration, 1974-77.

Associate Director—Harold F. Schneidman is currently deputy director for policy and plans. He has been with the agency since 1957.

Interstate Commerce Commission

Director of Bureau of Accounts—James B. Thomas Jr. was inspector general at HUD.

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Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Deputy Director of the Office of Nuclear Research—Robert J. Budnitz was associate director of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory in California.

Securities and Exchange Commission

Chief Accountant—A. Clarence Sampson, currently acting chief accountant, has spent 19 years in the SEC's Division of Corporate Finance.

General Counsel—Ralph C. Ferrara, currently executive assistant to the chairman, joined the SEC's Division of Trading and Markets in 1972.

U.S. International Trade Commission

Member of the Board—Paula Stern, former aide to Senator Gaylord Nelson, succeeds Daniel Minchew, whose term expired last June.

U.S. Railway Association

Member of the Board—James Burke is vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

Member of the Board—Robert Flannery is president of the Western Pacific Railroad Co.

Member of the Board—Stanton Sender is transportation counsel of Sears, Roebuck and Co.

Member of the Board—Nathaniel Welch is president of Georgia Freight Bureau.

RESIGNATIONS, DEATHS, AND WITHDRAWN NOMINATIONS

White House

Chief Presidential Speechwriter—James Fallows, a former editor of *The Washington Monthly*, will be leaving by the end of the year to return to journalism.

Special Assistant to the President for Media and Public Affairs—Barry Jagoda is leaving after having been downgraded by Gerald Rafshoon, recently appointed chief media advisor.

National Security Council Staff Member—Samuel P. Huntington is returning to Harvard, where he will be director of the Center for International Affairs.

Deputy Press Secretary to Rosalynn Carter—Ann Anderson has been dropped from the staff in a reorganization of the East Wing. Hers is the seventh departure from the East Wing staff since the inauguration.

Assistant Director of the Domestic Policy Staff—Robert Havely leaves the White House, where he focused on health issues, to enter Columbia University Law School.

Agriculture

Administrator of Food Safety and Quality Service—Robert Angelotti resigned under fire after a relationship with a meat industry consultant was investigated by the department. Despite a record that earned him the title "brilliant bureaucrat," Angelotti's maverick role in reorganizing USDA quality control created a long list of enemies among USDA employees and industry representatives. Some sources believe that he was "set up" because of the unusually critical attention he received for accepting a $14 meal from the industry and for filing a $31 voucher for expenses he did not incur.

Federal Highway Administration

Deputy Administrator—William Cox has resigned.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

Chairman—George A. LeMaistre will return to his former position at the University of Alabama law school.

Federal Election Commission

Member of the Board—Sam Zagoria asked that his nomination for the Republican seat on the commission be dropped by the White House because of pressure from GOP leaders who felt they had not been consulted about the appointment.

Interstate Commerce Commission

Member—Rupert L. Murphy resigned after 23 years on the commission.

State

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs—Sally A. Shelton, one of the highest-ranking women in the State Department, is a victim of a shake-up by the assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, Viron Vaky, who is said to want his own team.

Securities and Exchange Commission

General Counsel—Harvey Pitt resigned to join the Washington office of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman.

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The Politics of Selfishness

The Cause: The Empty Voting Booths

by Curtis Gans

The crucial difference between democracy and other forms of government, it is said, is that in a democracy the leadership of the nation derives its legitimacy and support from the consent of the governed. Perhaps the principal problem facing the United States today is the degree to which that consent is being withdrawn—the degree to which fewer and fewer Americans believe it necessary, important, or even worth their while to cast their ballots.

The figures are appalling:

- During the last decade more than 15 million eligible Americans, many of whom were regular voters, have stopped voting altogether.
- In the last four presidential elections, the percentage of eligible Americans who voted decreased from 63.8 in 1960 to 54.4 in 1976. There has been a similar trend in local, state, and congressional elections—and at a substantially lower level of participation than in presidential elections.
- Nearly 70 million Americans failed to cast their ballots in the 1976 presidential election; nearly 100 million did not vote in the congressional elections in 1974.
- Fewer than 28 per cent of Jimmy Carter's fellow citizens voted for him for president in 1976. Brendan Byrne of New Jersey received a "mandate" of less than 15 per cent of the eligible vote in his successful 1977 reelection bid. Mayor

Curtis Gans is the director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. This article is adapted from a speech given to the American Bar Association's Committee on Participation. *© 1978 Curtis Gans.*

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Ed Koch was the "choice" of less than 12 per cent of New York's voters. Senator Henry Jackson "won" the 1976 New York presidential primary by garnering less than six per cent of the potential vote.

- The 1978 primary turnout has been down in almost every state except Arkansas and California.
- Even in California, only about 40 per cent of California's eligible voters turned out for the heralded Proposition 13 initiative, nearly ten per cent lower than the number of eligible voters who cast their ballots in the 1976 presidential election and nearly 20 per cent fewer than 1972 totals.
- Not only is turnout—the percentage of eligible voters who actually vote—decreasing, but a smaller percentage of Americans are even bothering to register to vote each year.
- The level of participation in America, while never as high as in some European democracies, is lower today than in any democracy in the world except Botswana.

Conventional Wisdom of the 1960s

This sharp, continuing decline in political participation occurs, paradoxically, at a time of unprecedented liberalization in the procedures and laws governing registration and voting. The fact is, *it is easier to vote today than it has ever been.*

Within the last decade and a half the poll tax was outlawed, discrimination at polling places on the basis of race or language was prohibited, young Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 were enfranchised, residency requirements were eased, unreasonable and inequitable registration dates were discarded, and many states initiated devices to increase the level of participation, including mobile registrars, post-card registration, expanded voter information efforts, and even election day registration.

The sum total of these reforms represented the conventional wisdom of the 1960s as to how more Americans might be brought to the polls. Yet, none of these devices, with the possible exception of election day registration, has had any effect on the continuing trend toward declining political participation.

The Voting Rights Act allowed millions of blacks to vote, but black voting is declining at about the same rate as the rest of the nation. Millions of young people were made part of the political process, but a disproportionate share of them have failed to avail themselves of their newfound right. Fewer Americans are now disenfranchised, at least in national elections, because they move, but the level of participation in voting for president continues to decline. Mobile registrars, post card registration and the like have made it easier for citizens to register, but registration has been declining as well as voting.

Which is not to say that the reforms of the 1960s should be discarded. Rather it is to make clear that the explanation of the problem of declining participation lies not in the laws governing registration and voting nor in the procedures by which elections are conducted, but rather in a growing mistrust of American political leadership and a growing belief that each individual's road to the good life runs somewhere other than through the processes of government.

The Erosion of the Two Parties

Many of the reasons for the decline in participation and the corresponding erosion of public faith in government and political leadership are obvious—Watergate and Vietnam, Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson, the growth of a massive, unresponsive and impregnable bureaucracy, the growing complexity of the issues Americans face and their growing doubts that anybody has the foggiest idea of what to do about them, and perhaps a feeling of betrayal, or at least disillusionment, that all the glorious promises and all the furious energies of the 1960s seem to have yielded so little.

These events may help explain why

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some of the decline in participation initially occurred; they do not, however, explain why it continues and what might be done about it. Those answers lie deeper within the American system.

I do not presume to have all of those answers, but three factors seem obvious as part of the reason for the decline. The first is the influence of television. The decline in participation at the ballot box and within community political and social institutions has been simultaneous with the advent of television as a central factor in the lives of most Americans. In politics, television has meant, among other things, the rise of the "media candidate" and his consultants and technicians.

Part of the problem, I believe, also lies in the destruction of certitude—the erosion of the consensus on national purpose and goals, which was forged by Franklin D. Roosevelt as a response to the twin crises of depression and fascism and which, in only slightly modified form, persisted until the late 1960s.

But a major reason for the new American dilemma may lie with the erosion of the two-party system and the two major American political parties.

"In the last analysis," writes Everett Carll Ladd, Jr. in his forthcoming book, *Where Have All The Voters Gone?*, "They [the parties] managed to stand in the way of electoral chaos."

They did, in fact, much more than that. They provided electoral order, they trained political leaders, they honed the lines of political debate, they created a healthy competitive partisanship, and they offered the only possible means of translating political promise into legislative and executive action. They have been the way America turned its political desires into governmental policy.

Americans believed in their parties; there was a sense of party loyalty and party pride that you don't see in America today. The Democrats were the party of the common man and the New Deal, the party of concern and humanity, of minorities and big city

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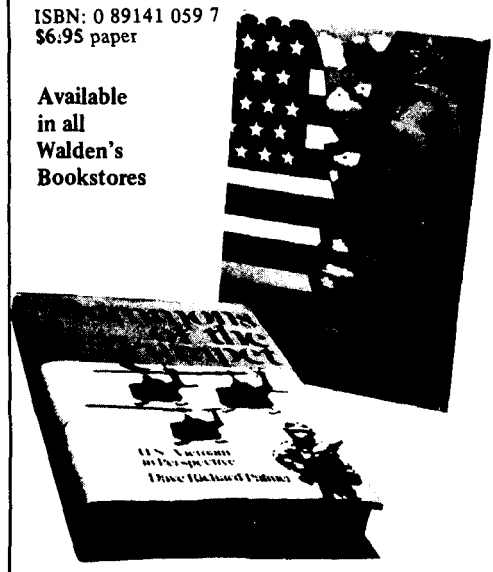

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machines, the old and the young. Against the cacaphony of the Democrats, the Republicans were the party of order, of common sense, of restraint, of probity. There was sufficient certitude in the public mind of where the two parties stood that citizens—proud, loyal Democrats and equally proud, equally loyal Republicans—could pull the party lever in the ballot box without knowing the candidate involved and feel relatively confident that they knew what they were voting for. That confidence and loyalty to parties helped make people want to vote, made people feel their vote was necessary and important.

Three specific events of the 1960s undermined the popular pride in and commitment to the two major parties. The Goldwater counter-rebellion, in which a vocal, ideologically rigid, right-wing minority became a major, and in some regions controlling, force in the Republican Party, outraged many traditional, common-sense Republicans. Watergate shocked their sense of probity and moral superiority. Thus disillusioned, many Republicans opted for political independence or non-participation.

What Watergate and Goldwater did for the Republicans, Vietnam did for the Democrats, splintering their cohesion, destroying faith in their leaders, creating questions about their programs and purposes, and leaving scars and divisions that persist to this day.

As a result of Lyndon Johnson's commitment to the war, which forced Democratic loyalists to support not only Johnson but his war as well, the party became polarized, its center collapsed, and no new center was created to replace it.

As we entered the 1970s, as the problems the country faced grew in number and complexity, it became near impossible to say, for sure, what the Democratic Party stood for. Was it the party of hope or the party of lowered expectations? The party that would create new programs or the party that wanted to control the federal budget? It seemed to stand for all things, all at once.

When one party has become so narrow and rigid as to constitute political irrelevance, and the other has become so broad and contentious as to be able to promise little and deliver even less, when there is no real shared conviction that in casting a ballot a citizen will be doing anything to improve either his own well-being or that of the nation, it is little wonder that fewer and fewer Americans are bothering to vote, and an increasing number of young people are eschewing politics altogether.

A Redefinition of Parties

One way to reverse the decline in voter participation, then, is to bring about a reawakening of party loyalty. This means that the parties will have to redefine themselves in such a way as to inspire loyalty again. This redefinition of parties might be done along conventional liberal/conservative lines, but it doesn't have to be that way. What is needed are new approaches to meeting the problems this country faces today.

Whatever is done needs to be done soon, for what we have now—a system where special interests that have come to represent fewer and fewer of us have increasing power, where single issue zealots have learned to use their votes to gain a virtual veto-power over local candidates—will only perpetuate the non-participation of the rest of us.

We went into the 1960s sure of our beliefs and our parties, with an understanding of what was at stake in our political decision-making and certain of our ability to make an impact. We have emerged with our beliefs shaken, with no clear lines of debate and decision-making, and with a feeling of increasing confusion and inability to affect the course of public events. Twenty years ago it was the party that helped give us that conviction. To get it back again, to get people voting again, we need a reemergence of political parties. ■

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Memo of the Month

[illegible] C. KOLB, M.D.
[illegible] COMMISSIONER
[illegible] A. McKINLEY, M.D.
[illegible] DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE
DIVISION OF ADMINISTRATION
44 HOLLAND AVENUE
ALBANY, N. Y. 12229

GERALD F. DUNN
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

February 17, 1978

DIVISION OF ADMINISTRATION
NUTRITION BULLETIN NO. 78-03

TO: Facility Directors, Deputy Director for Administration
Business Officer, Institution Food Administrator, Dietitian

Central Office: Food Service Distribution List

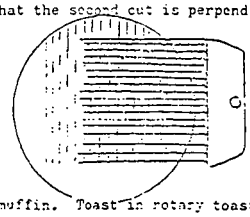
FROM: Jack J. Bellick, R.D.
Director
Bureau of Nutrition Services

SUBJECT: Fork Splitting of Supply Support English Muffin Buns (70541[illegible])

In order to preserve the natural wholesomeness and flavor of an[illegible] muffins, it was necessary to distribute them to you uncut. Since the type of cut (forked vs. sliced) significantly affects the flavor and texture of the toasted product, we recommend the fork cut which provides the "peaks and valleys" symmetry necessary for maximum flavor and texture.

The attached picture of an eighteen pronged cutter with plastic handle (see attached picture given actual size) will greatly speed up the task of fork cutting these muffin buns as opposed to using a standard table fork. Although the cutter was originally designed and sold as an onion holder (for thin slicing), it is particularly effective as an "English Muffin Bun Splitter." This cutter can be purchased at your local [illegible] or department store. We urge that you instruct your staff in the use and care of this cutter.

I. Breakfast or Snack Use
Method: 1) Insert the splitter into the side of the muffin.
2) Rotate the muffin in a 90° turn and insert the splitter into the side so that the second cut is perpendicular to the first cut.



3) Pry open the muffin. Toast in rotary toaster (preferred) or pop-up toaster.

4) Spread with butter or margarine and serve.

II. Breakfast or Luncheon Use
Method: 1) Slice with serrated edge knife.

2) Use as a bun for "Egg McMuffin" or use as a base for individual "miniature English Pizzas."

Should you devise a more efficient method of producing the same results, we would appreciate hearing from you so as we can share your idea with other facilities.

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The Effect: The Growth of the Special Interests

by James North

We used to call them fat cats, and in our stereotyped image there were hardly any more venal figures in politics. They were the wealthy industrialists of the W. Clement Stone mold, right-wing Republicans (tending toward Neanderthal) who could buy their way into the political system by wielding pen and checkbook around election time. Or so it seemed.

The politics of the 1970s changed all that, of course; today the words "fat cat" seem very old-fashioned. Congress passed a new election law in 1971—and amended it in 1974 and 1976, after the post-Watergate morality had firmly taken hold. As a result, the rules of campaign financing have undergone a complete transformation. For presidential elections, this has meant public financing for the first time, and for House and Senate elections, it has meant substantial restrictions on the amount of money individuals can contribute to campaigns.

But outlawing fat cats has not meant that congressional candidates are going broke. Far from it. Those same reforms have brought with them a new kind of campaign financing, a system that evolved tentatively as the new laws were being written, but has taken firm hold in time for the 1978 elections. At its foundation lie the Political Action Committees, the so-called PACs, the political fundraising machines of unions and businesses. PACs, especially corporate PACs, are the new fat cats.

This article is based on a study by Edwin M. Epstein, a lawyer and political scientist, who is a professor of Business Administration at the University of California at Berkeley.

The story of the new campaign financing is told in a study entitled "The Rise of Political Action Committees," written last year by Edwin M. Epstein, a political scientist and former Woodrow Wilson Fellow. The case he makes for the new power of PACs is a convincing one. The proliferation of PACs, he points out, has been rather astonishing—during the first four-and-a-half months of 1978, for example, they increased at a rate of six per week. Whereas business once had no interest in PACs, there were at last count over 700 business PACs. Epstein documents what he calls "the PAC phenomenon," showing where they came from, how they became so popular, and where they could lead us.

A good part of their popularity stems from the decline of political parties as central campaign organizations and political fundraisers. A candidate in the 1970s must do most of his own fundraising without much help from the local or national party machinery. And the most available source of money, and the largest contributions, come from PACs, which have fast overtaken the party as the prime dispenser of campaign funds.

There is a two-fold irony in this. The first is that when they were first passed, the election laws were hailed as signaling the end to the era of special interest influence in the electoral process. As Epstein makes clear, the growth of PACs has made a mockery of those claims.

The other irony is that the proliferation of corporate PACs, in particular, was neither intended nor expected when the election laws were being written in the early 1970s. It was

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organized labor lobbyists who drafted the amendments concerning PACs and lobbied for their passage. Yet it has been their political opponents, the business lobbies and corporations, which have been the real beneficiaries.

A Potent Tool for Labor

Although the idea of political action committees had been around for years, business never had much use for them. In the old, pre-Watergate days partisan political committees had been a potent tool for labor. Working in conjunction with the local Democratic Party machinery, their functions were much more extensive than simply raising money from union members. In the industrialized Northeast especially, labor committees were efficient, organized vehicles for registering voters and get-out-the-vote drives, which could, and often did, make or break candidates. They also raised a good deal of money. In 1956 labor PACs contributed about $2 million to their favorite candidates, and by 1972 that figure had risen to $7 million.

Then in 1968, the Justice Department indicted the officers of a local pipefitters union for violating the election laws. The officers, accused of coercing what were supposed to be voluntary contributions from union members by collecting donations at job sites in amounts based on a pre-arranged formula, were convicted. In 1971 the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. Because the unions were worried that the Court might outlaw PACs altogether, labor lobbyists scrambled up to Capitol Hill and got Rep. Orville Hansen to introduce an amendment to the election bill then being debated on the House floor. Because it was introduced so late in the game, it was hardly debated, with no input from the business community, and its passage was entirely the result of labor's lobbying effort.

The Hansen Amendment established the framework for the corporate and union PAC activity that exists today. In the short run, it gave the unions what they wanted: the right to provide members with information about political candidates and issues; the right to run non-partisan registration drives and get-out-the-vote efforts; and the right to solicit voluntary contributions to PACs from their members. While the contributions to PACs had to be strictly segregated from union dues and fees, the committees did not have to be independent of union control; the people running the PACs could be union officers.

But in order to draw the moderate Republican support needed to pass such a measure, the Hansen Amendment also gave the same right to corporations to establish stockholder PACs. At the time, union lobbyists shrugged off the potential problem: "Few union people thought that companies would take much advantage of this right [to establish PACs]," writes Epstein, simply because they had never done so before.

In 1974, in the aftermath of Watergate Congress went back to work on election reform, this time intending specifically to reduce the influence of large contributors. But PACs got a much better deal out of that law than the general public, and again the reason was primarily the efforts of the labor lobbyists. The PAC contribution limit per federal candidate was $5,000 (compared to a $1,000 limit for individual contributions), and there was no combined limit at all (individuals had a $25,000 total contribution ceiling). The labor lobbyists also won an amendment to allow government contractors to establish PACs (government contractors previously had been forbidden to make campaign contributions)—another strategic error, since there are far more corporations doing government work than there are unions.

But it wasn't until a year and a half later that corporations realized the potential of the new laws. That's when the Federal Election Commission made perhaps its most important ruling, one that "provided the liberating imprimatur for the development of political

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action committees, dramatizing as it did to many companies the exciting political possibilities of PACs," says Epstein.

Sun Oil Company had asked the FEC to rule on its plan to use general corporate funds to set up and administer its PAC. But Sun Oil also wanted to be able to solicit its *employees* as well as its stockholders and to set up a payroll deduction plan so that they could contribute either to the Sun PAC or to their own candidates directly. (This payroll deduction idea was something unions had been forbidden from doing under the Taft-Hartley Act.)

In a four to two decision, the FEC members said yes to all three requests. The Commission's dissenters complained that this destroyed the balance between the unions and the corporations—in the case of Sun Oil, for example, there were 126,555 shareholders and 27,707 employees, of whom only a small percentage were unionized. The company could solicit over 150,000 individuals, the union only a fraction of that amount. Within the next six months corporations and business lobbies established 150 new PACs, more than doubling the previous number.

Recouping Labor's Losses

In 1976, when Congress once again took up a campaign finance bill, the labor lobbyists tried to recoup some of their losses in the Sun Oil ruling, and they did achieve some successes. The 1976 law contained a provision restricting corporate PACs to the solicitation of contributions from their stockholder and management personnel—while union members continued to be restricted to soliciting union members and their families. Twice a year, however, both union and corporate PACs are permitted to "cross over" and solicit by mail campaign contributions from employees or stockholders that are otherwise off limits. Thus, corporate PACs lost their "Sun Oil right" to solicit general employees as often as they wanted.

But they still kept their much more important right, to solicit people in management—the people who were most likely to contribute. Labor also was allowed to use a check-off payroll deduction system for soliciting contributions if a company used that same method or agreed to it in negotiations.

Finally, the law contained a provision that, while allowing an unlimited number of PACs to be established by a company or union, forced all of them to be treated as one PAC where campaign contributions were concerned. Thus all PACs set up by a single company or a union were limited to an aggregate $5,000 per candidate in an election. The provision was intended to put an end to the establishment of multiple PACs by corporations seeking to take advantage of the Sun Oil ruling. But it, like the other PAC provisions in previous campaign reform bills, has had the effect of backfiring on labor. Because

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there are so many small "locals" affiliated with major unions, labor would have been better off without such a provision.

A Bitter Pill to Swallow

But by then, it was too late to do anything about the proliferation of corporate PACs. It is a bitter pill for labor to swallow, for the number of labor PACs is not going to increase dramatically—if that were going to happen, it would have happened a long time ago. Since the 50s, unions have made sophisticated use of PACs, and in all that time there have never been more than about 300 labor PACs. (During presidential elections the number rises to about 300; the rest of the time, there are usually around 250.) That is why, ironically, labor lobbyists have become ardent supporters of public financing legislation.

The business PACs are a different story entirely. Epstein points out that in the early 1970s, they never numbered more than 90. By 1976, however, over 300 corporate PACs had been formed; by March of this year their number had swelled to 595; and four months later, by July, there were 711. Yet, Epstein says, "the astounding thing is not how many company committees exist today but rather how *few* there are given the total population of potential corporate PACs." Of the top 500 industrials (all with sales over $350 million), 334 do not have PACs, says Epstein; of the leading 1,000 industrials, 802 do not have PACs.

What does it all mean? "In short," Epstein writes, "the market for potential PAC formations is virtually untapped even if we consider only the very largest firms." And the amount of money contributed will soon reflect that new growth in the number of business PACs. In the 1976 elections, according to Epstein, the business and labor PACs nearly matched each other in money spent, although labor slightly outspent the business lobbies and individual companies. In 1978, however, he predicts that business will surpass labor by at least $4 million.

All told, PACs of all kinds had raised $54 million for the 1978 election by July—and had spent almost $11 million in contributions to House and Senate candidates.

The growth of PACs raises the specter of a truly vicious money cycle. As the number of business PACs increases, the unions will try to get their members to make larger contributions. As businesses see the clout unions have gained with sophisticated registration drives and get-out-the-vote campaigns, they will attempt to copy those techniques. And with the decline of the parties as fundraisers, PACs will become ever more important to congressional candidates.

If by this time you are muttering angrily that this is not what election reform was supposed to mean, you are not alone. With considerable understatement, Epstein says: "It has struck many observers of campaign financing that among the greatest ironies of election reform legislation of the 1970s is the fact that it has greatly expanded the operating freedom of both labor and business in the electoral process. . . . The reform legislation. . . has helped to substitute one form of large contributor for another."

Even more troublesome is the way unions and their corporate counterparts are flexing their new special interest muscle.

In predictable fashion, PAC money has perpetuated a system that already had made it nearly impossible to beat congressional incumbents. An increase in PACs has not brought with it an increasing diversification of contributions. Quite the opposite: the vast majority of contributions are made to incumbents, usually incumbents sitting on committees handling legislation of interest to the donor. Common Cause says that in the 1976 elections business-related PACs favored congressional incumbents by a four-to-one margin; for labor, the ratio was three to one. It is money subcommittee chairmen in particular

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have come to expect and treasure. At fundraisers, even the most liberal Democratic chairman can be assured of dozens of checks from business PACs. All told, in 1976 incumbents received $13.2 million while the challengers got only $4.2 million.

Epstein accurately calls this "risk averting." But others have stronger words. "Corporate managers are whores," Rep. Robert Dornan, a conservative freshman Republican, told *Congressional Quarterly* recently. The right has been especially incensed by industry's tendency to give money to incumbent Democrats. "They don't care who's in office, what party or what they stand for. They're just out to buy you," adds Dornan.

You don't have to agree with Dornan's politics to see the merit of his complaint. It is not just the far right challengers who are left out of this system, but *all* challengers. Dornan, of course, doesn't have much to worry about. As an incumbent—and as a right-wing incumbent—he is in a position to greatly benefit from the proliferation of PACs. Indeed, the growing trend is toward the establishment of PACs by single-issue lobbies on the right—the gun lobby, the anti-abortion activists, the right-to-workers—who have discovered that they too, can gain an increasingly receptive hearing on Capitol Hill by establishing PACs and making the large contributions forbidden to individuals.

But the single-issue lobbies still lag far behind both business and labor in the use of PACs, and what we're left with from them, after the "reform" dust has had time to settle, is another kind of vicious money cycle. It is one in which two increasingly narrow-minded interests—the AFL-CIO reflecting the views of a shrinking number of union members, corporations invariably parroting out-of-date Chamber of Commerce rhetoric—play to the needs of incumbents with hefty contributions. Incumbents play to the needs of these interest groups by the writing of laws and the seeking of special interest amendments. And both of them, realizing that keeping the other happy is in their own self-interest, refuse to extend their loyalties to the *public* interest because there is no need, in this selfish scheme of things, to do so. Around and around it goes, incumbents and PACs, PACs and incumbents.

And for labor there is the final, harsh irony that this is not at all what it expected when its lobbyists began working on campaign laws in the early 1970s. The liberalization of PACs, the expanded freedom to solicit contributions from members and make contributions to candidates was firmly seen as benefiting labor, not business. Concludes Epstein: "In furthering its own short-range objectives during the 1970s, labor sowed the seeds which have born the very fruit it sought to prevent—enhanced business clout and effectiveness in the electoral process—through the use of labor's favorite mechanism—the political action committee." ■

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The Solution: A Rebirth of Patriotism

by Charles Peters

America is no longer a nation. It is a committee of lobbies. In Washington, the lobbies have taken over. Tax reform bills turn into Christmas trees with gifts for every special interest. Defense appropriations have less to do with real defense than with having something for everyone—a military base in some districts, airplane engine contracts in another.

And higher loyalties are out. Even loyalty to a political party is being replaced by a narrower loyalty to one's interest group, with political power shifting—as the two preceding articles explain—from the parties to the political action committees that represent special interests.

If few are standing up for their party, not many more are speaking up for their country. Politicians no longer ask what is in the public interest, because they know no one else is asking. Instead they're giving each group what it wants, which means, among other things, ever more government spending and ever more inflation.

The only current answer to all this is Proposition 13. But it doesn't ask what is best for the country. It doesn't seek to discriminate between what are wise or foolish expenditures; it merely says cut my taxes, make things easier for me.

What we need instead of more Proposition 13s is a rebirth of patriotism—not of flag-flaunting, my-country-right-or-wrong jingoism, but of a loyalty to our national community that will cause each person to ask what is best for all of us at the same time he asks what is best for himself and his special group. This patriotism would not preclude loyalties to smaller groups, like your family, your company, or your union. It would simply say there is something else we must take into account—the welfare of the nation.

For most of the twentieth century, patriotism has been strong in America. Large numbers of people from all classes volunteered for service in World Wars I and II. As one who worked on the staff of the Peace Corps in the early sixties, I know many of our volunteers were motivated by patriotism—they were ashamed of the Ugly American and wanted to show

Charles Peters is editor-in-chief of The Washington Monthly.

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the good side of their country to the world. But Vietnam changed all of that. First it killed the patriotism of the educated youth who resisted the war from the beginning. Then even more viciously it destroyed the patriotism of the poor who went to Vietnam and realized they had been suckers.

Two other factors, roughly contemporaneous with Vietnam, also helped turn the American people toward concern for their group rather than concern for their nation—civil rights and women's liberation. Both movements were completely justified. Both won tremendous victories. But they were constantly saying to the rest of the country: give our group its due. The lesson of their success was not lost on others.

I think the example of the National Rifle Association also had a tremendous effect. It was the single most successful small lobby of the sixties. Its message to politicians was vote with us and we'll support you, vote against us and we'll oppose you even if you're the nation's wisest and most devoted statesmen. The message worked and began to be copied by more and more groups. What the message really says is that the National Rifle Association doesn't give a damn about the rest of the country as long as it gets what it wants. And that is exactly what is being said by all the lobbies that imitate the NRA.

What can we do? How can we have a rebirth of patriotism? It is simple enough. If you're young, think about doing your part by serving a few years in the armed forces—how long can we bear to let such service remain the responsibility of the poor?—or in the Peace Corps or VISTA. If you're retired, think again about voluntary service, giving others the help you realize you will need in a few years. If you're a union member, ask do I really need the wage increase I'm asking for or can I give up part of it to help stop inflation, to help my company's products remain competitive. If you're in management, you can ask how important is your big salary, your fancy office, and all your perqs compared to being part of a company that is turning out the kind of products that could make "Made in the U.S.A." mean what it did 30 years ago. Everyone can take a moment each time a decision is being made by his group and ask is this what is best for the country as a whole, is this what is best for us all?

Above all, don't vote against your representative simply because you think he is wrong on abortion or farm price supports or natural gas deregulation. Look at his whole record and ask if the totality of what he's doing is in the national interest. And get involved in one of the political parties—remember that their point has always been to try to bring at least 51 per cent of us together.

Of course I know there are those whose response to what I have been trying to say will be something like, "Who are you kidding?" or "How naive can you be?" But I also know there are a lot of people who are fundamentally dissatisfied with the selfish life, who are ready to be reminded that they're capable of something better. They are not the kind of people who ever wanted to flaunt the flag, but they are the kind who would like to recapture the quiet pride they once felt in it and the country it symbolizes. ■

Answer to last month's puzzle:

1 P	R	2 O	P	3 O	S	4 I	T	5 I	O	6 N	X	7 I	I	8 I
A	■	V	■	V	■	S	■	N	■	I	■	T	■	N
9 P	R	E	F	E	R	S	■	10 V	A	G	R	A	N	T
E	■	R	■	R	■	U	■	E	■	E	■	L	■	O
11 R	E	P	E	A	T	E	R	S	■	12 R	A	Y	O	N
E	■	O	■	L	■	■	■	T	■	I	■	■	■	E
13 D	O	W	E	L	■	14 P	R	O	L	A	P	15 S	E	D
■	■	E	■	■	■	R	■	R	■	■	■	T	■	■
16 S	T	R	U	17 T	T	E	R	S	■	18 A	L	O	U	19 D
P	■	■	■	O	■	D	■	■	■	M	■	V	■	E
20 L	I	21 B	E	L	■	22 I	N	23 T	H	E	D	E	E	P
I	■	I	■	S	■	C	■	R	■	R	■	B	■	O
24 T	A	B	I	T	H	A	■	25 E	D	I	T	O	R	S
U	■	L	■	O	■	T	■	A	■	C	■	L	■	E
26 P	R	E	S	I	D	E	N	T	C	A	R	T	E	R

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Roxie Munro

Where to Stay in Washington

While most think of "the Hill" as the Capitol and congressional office buildings, there's also a lot of government action nearby, at the Department of Labor, General Accounting Office, Government Printing Office, U.S. District Court, and the SEC to the northwest; the Supreme Court and Library of Congress to the east; and Health, Education, and Welfare to the southwest. And there are only four hotels, so make your reservations early.

If your budget is tight and you aren't fussy about extras, try the **Bellevue** or the **Commodore**. You'll get only the basics—bed, bath, window air conditioner, TV, and no room service—but at very reasonable rates, and both are within five minutes' walking distance of Union Station and the Metro-rail stop.

The Bellevue, 15 E St., NW, 638-0900 has a slight edge. It's on a side street and has both a restaurant and lounge (see **Tiber Creek Pub**, below), for a moderately priced lunch and dinner, as well as an inexpensive cafeteria, serving all three meals. The 205 rooms are small, neat, and clean. Singles, $24-$35; doubles, $31-$42; suites $60-$75. Children under 12 free if no additional beds required. One meeting room that accommodates up to 100. Free parking.

The Commodore, 520 No. Capitol St., NW, 628-2300, was taken over five years ago by its present owner, who has done an admirable job of attempting to disguise with some style what had clearly been a flea-bag. The **Dubliner** restaurant in the lobby (see below) serves three meals at moderate prices. Singles, $28; doubles, $35; suites, $40. Children under 12 free. Group and government employee discounts. Free parking.

For a considerable step up in accommodations and, of course, price, go a few blocks away to the **Hyatt** or the **Quality Inn**, right across from each other on New Jersey Avenue.

The Hyatt Regency, 400 New Jersey Ave., NW, 737-1234 or (800) 228-9000 is *the place* for those who can afford it. If you make it through the bizarre initiation—an escalator ride through a jungle of aluminum mobiles, fountain, and greenery topped by an eight-story-high glass-and-steel skylight—you'll find yourself in a spacious, attractive room with a lot of extras, some nice, some unnecessary but harmless: carpeted bath, digital clock radio, cable (as well as network) TV, more plants, free shampoo, bath oil beads, and shower cap. There are three expensive restaurants (see below), lounge, and with 850 rooms plus 19 meeting rooms it's a good convention/meeting place (your closed-circuit TV channel gives you the meeting schedules for the day—in addition to the weather forecast). Singles, $55-$85; doubles, $75-$105; one-bedroom suites, $130-$230, two-bedroom $180-$300. Government, corporate, and union discounts. Children under 14 free. $5 parking charge.

Quality Inn Capitol Hill, 415 New Jersey Ave., NW, 638-1616, is a happy compromise price-wise. The atmosphere is less overwhelming than the Hyatt, and with an outdoor pool and snack bar in season and closed-circuit movies available on the room TVs, it's a good family hotel. Moderately priced breakfast, lunch, and dinner are served in the **Coach Parlor**, and lunch and dinner in the **Whistle Stop Lounge**. Nine meeting rooms, 340 bedrooms. Singles $40-$48; doubles, $50-$58; suite prices on request. Children under 16 free. Discounts for government employees, groups, and AARP members. Free indoor parking.

To catch the full flavor of Capitol Hill, don't miss lunch. But make reservations if possible. Otherwise, be prepared to stand in line, for while new restaurants are springing up at a fast clip, they are understandably having trouble keeping up with the constantly expanding congressional staff, who have to figure out some way to spend their constantly expanding salaries, and the constantly increasing number of lobbyists, who have to figure out how to use their expense accounts. So if you prefer to concentrate more on the menu than the company, plan for dinner—and make it seven or later, when the after-work singles crowd has dispersed.

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On the Senate and Supreme Court side, **The Monocle**, 107 D St., NE, has been catering to senators and aides for nearly 20 years, and you'll still see some of the old-timers there. The food isn't great, the prices fairly high. **The Man in the Green Hat**, 3rd St. and Massachusetts Ave., NE, is brand new and getting some attention for its homebaked Irish soda bread and an imaginative, moderately-priced menu. At **The Gandy Dancer**, 200 E St., NE, you can have your wind-down drink at the end of the day on a comfortable sofa in the upstairs lounge before enjoying a good, reasonably priced meal in the restaurant. For moderate, excellent French cafe dishes, it's **La Ruche**, 239 Massachusetts Ave., NE.

If you've had a rough morning at the District Court or need to break out of the maze at the Department of Labor, call for reservations, and then walk the few blocks over to the Hyatt Regency, 400 New Jersey Ave., NW, and **Jonah's Oyster Kitchen** to choose from two-dozen expensive but imaginative, well-prepared seafood dishes (e.g., Bouillabaisse salad, grilled speckled trout pecan). Except for breakfast and the Sunday brunch, when you get all the champagne and brunch food you can eat for $7.95, avoid **The Park Promenade**, a noisy cafe right in the lobby with an over-priced, undistinguished menu. The main attraction for dinner at **Hugo's** is not the expensive cuisine (minimum charge, $9.75 per person), but the eleventh-floor panorama of Washington at night, and a ride to and from in a glass, outdoor elevator. A few blocks further is the **Tiber Creek Pub**, in the Bellevue Hotel, 15 E St., NW. It's worth the walk to be able to eat in a place where you are far enough from your neighbors so as not to hear every word of their conversation—and vice versa. They serve moderately priced English pub-type food and English beer to go with it. **The Dubliner**, 4 F St., NW, in the Commodore Hotel, has an Irish flavor and is popular with the congressional staff crowd at lunch and after work.

Restaurants are more abundant on the House side, and are located primarily along Pennsylvania Ave., SE. The current star in the expensive category is **209½**, at, yes, 209½ Pennsylvania Ave., SE, a small, elegantly simple restaurant with continental cuisine. At lunch the fixed-price menu ($8-$9) is limited to usually five entrees, and at dinner ($18) three or four. Wines are $8 a bottle. Of the Italian restaurants, **Machiavelli's**, 613 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, is very popular—good, moderately priced Southern Italian dishes. **Yolanda's**, 223 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, is Italian only at dinner, when Yolanda herself does the cooking, but she hasn't lived up to the reputation she established at the restaurants where she cooked previously. Lunch is routine California-style pub-food prepared by **Jenkins Hill**, the restaurant downstairs. **Toscanini's**, 313 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, offers pizza downstairs and relatively expensive and not very good other Italian fare upstairs. Stay downstairs.

The House-side old-timer, **Mike Palm's**, 231 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, once renowned and admired for its unpretentious decor and straightforward menu, has prostituted itself—gone California-style and downhill in quality. A good, inexpensive Greek restaurant is **Taverna the Greek Islands**, 307 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, where there's live Greek music every night except Monday. And if for nothing else, stop by **Sherrill's Bakery**, 233 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, for the best, gooiest, caramel pecan rolls and crisp elephant ears in town.

But if it turns out there's no way you can get away from the Capitol at lunchtime, don't despair. **The Refectory**, on the ground floor on the Senate side, is open daily and serves some of the famous Senate specialties—bean soup (45 cents) and hot Southern pecan pie (75 cents). The Supreme Court cafeteria, open only when the Court is in session, is good; the Senate cafeterias are not bad; but unless you're desperate, avoid the House side, particularly the Longworth Building's, whose atmosphere still resembles the garage it once was. The congressional cafeterias (except The Refectory) are open only to staff and guests during the noon rush hour.

—Carol Trueblood

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The Trident: Our Pre-Sunk Supercarrier

by Frank Packard

When Jimmy Carter, the former Navy man, vetoed the defense authorization bill last August, he said it was because the bill contained $2 billion for a nuclear-powered supercarrier the Navy didn't need. The ship was too big, said Carter, too expensive, too vulnerable. In this era of nuclear deterrent and nuclear strategy, aircraft carriers are no longer an important component of the national defense, he added.

But unchallenged by the administration were funds in the same bill for another Navy program that deserves the same kind of scrutiny and debate the aircraft carrier is receiving. That is the Trident submarine program.

Unlike the supercarrier, the Trident is not a one-ship proposition. As envisioned by the Navy, a minimum of 14 Tridents will be built to replace the current Polaris/Poseidon nuclear-powered fleet. While the original cost estimates in the early 1970s were $800 million for each ship, today, with cost overruns by its shipbuilder, General Dynamics, inflation, and construction delays, the Navy estimates the Trident will cost taxpayers $1.2 billion. And that is just for the hull, the shell. When you add the 24 nuclear missiles—at $10 million apiece—the Tridents will carry, as well as sophisticated components and weaponry which will be added, *each* Trident is going to cost about as much as the supercarrier. With the first ship still at least a year and a half away from completion, the Navy has committed itself to spending $30 billion on Trident submarines.

Besides its enormous cost, the Trident is similar to the supercarrier in another way: its size. The Trident is not just a big ship—it is huge, massive, a "whale of a weapons system," says *Fortune* magazine. At 560 feet long, it is five feet longer than the Washington Monument and 178 feet longer than any submarine to come before it. It displaces 18,700 tons, compared to the Polaris' displacement of 8,000 tons. It has an immense 90,000-horsepower nuclear reactor as its engine. So large is this ship that when fully equipped, there are doubts as to whether it will be able to maneuver from the shipyard in Connecticut where it is being built through the river it must travel to get out to sea.

Where the Trident is different from the aircraft carrier is in America's indisputable need for submarines. Submarines are the Navy's most important ship. Equipped with nuclear missiles, they give the United States the equivalent of small, roving nuclear missile bases at sea—underwater, movable, difficult to detect. Combined with land-based nuclear missiles and the Air Force's bomber force, submarines help form the so-called "Triad" defense—our primary nuclear deterrent strategy since the late 1950s.

Frank Packard is an intern on the staff of The Washington Monthly.

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Our present fleet, the Polaris/Poseidon submarines of the 1960s and 1970s are considered invulnerable to detection—indeed it is not too much to say they have been the most important component of the Triad.

On the basis of its potential value to America's defense strategy, then, the Trident, for all its expense, might still make sense in ways the supercarrier clearly cannot. But this, sadly, is not the case, for the Trident is far from the ideal submarine we ought to be building for the future. Rather than being an advance over the Polaris/Poseidon nuclear fleet, the Trident program is a step backwards. Despite its awesome gadgetry, its sophistication, its powerful nuclear clout, the Trident submarine will be *more* vulnerable to detection or attack from potential enemies than the Polaris/Poseidon fleet ever was.

There are at least five good reasons why the Trident submarines shouldn't be built.

- Their size. It is ironic that so many in Congress, particularly those on the armed services committees are so willing to back large ships on the theory that the bigger a ship is, the better it is. In the case of the Trident, precisely the opposite is true. The larger a submarine, the easier it is to detect. It takes up more space in the water, and, more importantly, its large reflecting surface makes it more susceptible to detection by sonar.
- Their speed. The Trident's 90,000-horsepower nuclear reactor makes it the fastest missile-equipped submarine ever built—capable of traveling at up to 25 knots. But this, as it turns out, is no advantage at all. Fast submarines, in fact, are easier to detect than slower ones. Evading sonar (a submarine can hear sonar before the sonar detects the submarine) is complicated by the fact that the faster a submarine travels the more noise it makes, and hence, the more vulnerable it becomes to detection.

Nor is the added speed any benefit if the purpose is to avoid Russian attack submarines. Those submarines, nuclear powered and considerably smaller than a Trident, go at least 10 knots faster than the Trident.

- Their location. The base planned for the Trident submarines is in Bangor, Washington at Puget Sound; the decision to put it there appears to have been a political one, designed to reward Senator Henry Jackson for a vote that was critical to the program's survival. But Bangor is far from an ideal location for a submarine base. It is not very close to the open sea. To get from the base to the ocean, it would have to travel a 100-mile-long corridor that never widens more than nine navigable miles. Current American submarine tracking methods include following the paths of missile subs from the moment they leave port; our enemies, we can surmise, do the same—and sending our submarines through this narrow channel, we are making it much easier to find and track the Trident fleet.

This kind of naval planning is enough to give one visions of disaster should the Trident fleet ever be under attack—visions of an enemy blocking off the Sound, crippling the base and the trapped ships. And these are not visions quickly allayed by the Navy. While justifying the selection of Bangor, one admiral conceded, "No one is saying that we have an answer to all things with mines, or all things with ships and torpedoes." Remember Pearl Harbor?

- Their numbers. With the Trident program, the Navy is led further into the direction of fewer and larger ships. The Trident fleet is planned at about 14 submarines—no one in the Navy dares propose more because they cost so much—yet the ships will be replacing a current fleet of 41 Polaris/Poseidon submarines. That means, at its simplest, that America is going to have 27 fewer nuclear missile submarines in the water at the point at which the current fleet is retired. In defending the President's carrier decision, Thomas B. Ross, an official at the Defense Department, wrote in a letter to *The Wall Street Journal*, "No matter how

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capable a ship may be and no matter how expensive, it can only be in one place at a time." Ross could just as well have been talking about the Trident.

The numbers game is an important factor in nuclear deterrence strategy. It is generally considered desirable to have as many nuclear missiles in as many different locations as possible, because it lessens the chances that an enemy, even one as rich in nuclear weapons as the Soviets, could knock out all our retaliatory force in a first-strike attack. The fear that we are always capable of striking back under any circumstances, say nuclear strategists, is what makes for good deterrence. The theory is that fewer eggs in a very large number of baskets is the best defense strategy. The Polaris/Poseidon fleet, with 41 ships, gave us that kind of approach. The Trident, with its 14 ships, obviously does not. It is clearly easier to find and track 14 ships than it is to get at 41. Although the Trident will carry 24 missiles, and although each missile will have eight separate nuclear warheads, the Trident fleet will still fall far short of the combined firepower of the current fleet by about 200 missiles. Trident proponents argue that its missiles will have a much longer range—4,000 compared to the present 2,500 miles—which is true, but what they fail to add is that that same kind of missile range could be installed in the smaller submarines as well. The point is, you don't need a Trident to carry the Trident's missiles.

The Trident makes even less sense in the light of current SALT negotiations. After the first SALT agreement expired, the U.S. and Russia agreed in the interim to limit the number of missile launch tubes in submarines to 710 per side. But they also agreed there would be *no* limit on the number of submarines. It is expected that SALT II will continue that arrangement. Why, then, aren't we spreading those 710 launch tubes around, why aren't we making it impossible for an enemy to cripple all of our submarine missiles? A large fleet of smaller submarines like

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the Polaris/Poseidon would give the U.S. that capability—and it is interesting to note that that is precisely the direction in which the Russian submarine fleet has headed.

• Their delays. The first Trident submarine had an original due date of 1978. That ship is still being built and is now not expected to be ready until early 1980, barring any more unforeseen problems at General Dynamics. The problems have been caused mostly by the Navy—it gave the contract to General Dynamics before any engineering blueprints existed, and it grossly underestimated the cost and difficulty of building the submarine. The combined troubles, however, have put our submarine capacity in some jeopardy. The current fleet, built between 1959 and 1967, had a life expectancy of 20 years, and although it has turned out to be more durable than expected, the Trident delays almost certainly mean that much of the Polaris/Poseidon fleet will have been retired before a full complement of Trident submarines is ready to replace it.

A Lemon of a Submarine

The Trident program, in a word, has been a blunder, a disastrous effort by the Navy on just about any count—cost, strategic effectiveness, timing. It has put us in a bind. Yet throughout the 1970s the Navy has pushed ahead with it, lobbying for it in Congress, ignoring its detractors on Capitol Hill and even in the Defense Department. How did we get saddled with this lemon of a submarine, a ship we don't need and shouldn't build?

It began in 1966, with the Strat X project, formed to decide on the next strategic weapon. They decided on a new generation of submarines. The Polaris/Poseidon fleet had turned out to be extraordinarily good. It had been built at a reasonable cost (the 41 ships cost a total of just under $20 billion) and was flexible enough so that the ships could be retrofitted as better, more powerful missiles were developed. But the submarines' life was limited, so the Strat X project came up with a proposal to replace the fleet, centered around the concept of reasonably sized submarines—a little smaller than the Polaris/Poseidon fleet, in fact. They would carry 24 missiles with improved range and firepower. Out of this project came several specific assignments, one to Admiral Levering Smith to develop the new missiles, and one to Admiral Hyman Rickover to develop the nuclear reactor.

Smith's missile concept was the model of efficiency—its range was 1,500 miles greater than the present capability and it could be retrofitted into the Polaris/Poseidon fleet if it was ready in time. But Rickover's reactor—the 90,000-horsepower reactor around which the Trident has been built—was a monster. His design was widely criticized; the Defense Science Board and the President's Science Advisory Committee both called it too large, and it was opposed by the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt. But Rickover was a power in the Navy and had considerable clout on Capitol Hill; and by 1971, he was in control—the new submarine was taking on a "Rickover shape," says Zumwalt.

In fact, what was happening—and this may be the most absurd irony of all—was that the Trident program was being developed not for its strategic effectiveness, or for the missiles it would deploy, but to fit around the grotesquely large reactor Rickover wanted to build. Instead of building the engine to fit the ship, the ship would be built to fit the engine.

Rickover's fixation on power and size—of a huge reactor and a massive submarine, defied all logic, but by the early 1970s, the rest of the Navy was enthusiastically backing him. To help ensure the Trident would go forward, the Navy linked the Trident submarine program with the missile program, calling them both Tridents, a wholly unnecessary move as far as the missile was concerned, since the Trident missiles could be used on smaller

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submarines—including the Poseidon. The result was to slow development on the missile (in order not to get too far ahead of the submarine development) and to allow the Navy to divert money from the missiles to the submarine, since they were part of the same program. (Indeed, when the two proposals were first brought to Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard in 1971, he approved the missile but vetoed the submarine.) Because both projects were named "Trident," the Navy could—and did—legally direct missile funds to the submarines and has resisted or ignored efforts to separate the two ever since.

About that time, the Nixon administration decided it wanted to use an accelerated Trident program as a "bargaining chip" for the first SALT negotiations. At this point, the submarine still had no engineering blueprints, nor did anyone have any clear idea what it would cost, but the administration and the Navy insisted it was necessary for SALT. In 1971 Congress had appropriated $105 million for the Trident. In 1972, after Defense Secretary Melvin Laird had made his "bargaining chip" plea, this ship that no one knew anything about was funded to the tune of $1 billion. (Doesn't the sheer insanity of spending all these billions for bargaining chips trouble you a bit?)

Through it all was the feeling from the Navy and its congressional boosters that the right way to proceed was to push forward with the biggest submarine we could build. It is an attitude endemic to the Navy and some of the more gung-ho members of the armed services committees, and it says a lot about why we are now stuck with the Trident.

Writing in *The Washington Post* shortly after the aircraft carrier veto, Daniel S. Greenberg said that ships like the supercarrier and the Trident were "plush recreational vehicles" that serve little function other than as "incomparable stage[s] for the ego lifting" of admirals. It is a common enough desire; we all want the biggest and the best, and we all to some extent fall into the trap of believing that biggest *is* best. Admirals don't want to command "little" submarines, compacts that might be a more intelligent choice than the Trident.

In Congress, that same kind of attitude can be found from the likes of Rep. Charles Bennett, chairman of the House seapower subcommittee, who sums up his feelings about the Navy budget this way: "I'm inclined to give the Navy everything it asks for this year and just add something to it."

And it is the kind of attitude that put us into the defense mess we're now in. We got a bargaining chip instead of a submarine; an admiral's delight instead of a strategic weapon; a monstrous, expensive, poorly planned, and often delayed $2-billion mistake instead of a replacement for an efficient, workable submarine fleet.

Now the Defense Department is going to add to the cost of the Trident mistake by spending $30 billion for its "shell game" strategy. The idea is to build empty holes that look like missile silos, to make it more difficult for the Russians to target all of our land-based missiles. That is $30 billion we would not have to spend if we had a large submarine fleet of small ships, a fleet scattered enough and big enough to make the shell game strategy unnecessary.

The Navy, which got us into this mess, is finally realizing that it ought to be thinking of a way to get us out of it. With the Trident costs still escalating and with Congress starting to get worried, the Navy recently announced the formation of a panel to review the Trident program to see if there are better, and cheaper, alternatives. There are, of course, as the people working on the Strat X project realized in 1966. But it is now 12 years later, the Polaris/Poseidon fleet is going to wear down soon, the Trident isn't ready to take over, no new alternative submarines have been thought about, and the question now becomes: is 1978 too late to reverse the Trident mistake? ■

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Tidbits and Outrages

How Soon They Forget

Two political scientists recently surveyed the staffs of United States senators to find out if those who had been undergraduate political science majors are more likely than those less fortunate 1) to recognize the applications of political science to their Senate jobs, 2) to have greater professional and social contact with political scientists, and 3) to read political science books and journals. Their findings: "The data collected failed to confirm any of these hypotheses."

Plus an Exciting New Column, Self-ish

Conde Nast's new magazine, *Self* promises "fascinating how-to articles" on Self-care, Self-assertion, Self-expression, Self-awareness, Self-expansion and Self-esteem.

Quote of the Month Dept.

Buster Daniels, the assessor of Newton County, Texas, as reported in *The Texas Observer*: "The timber companies own 85 per cent of the land in this county. They tell *us* what they're going to pay."

The High Cost of Saving Tax Money

The Federal Disaster Assistance Administration sent out a press release recently that began "Tax dollars can be saved at all levels of government." It was sent by Western Union Mailgram. The *Wisconsin State Journal* inquired and found out that the release had been sent to 280 papers at a cost of $13.45 each. All to say, "Tax dollars can be saved."

What's the Score?

Harper's Bazaar offers this inspirational counsel to its readers in the current issue: "Money is the scoreboard in the game of working and the person who accumulates the most dollar-points is considered a valuable player."

Flag Day Follies

June 14 is Flag Day, and while that may not mean much to most of us, it is a very special day for Rep. Ted Risenhoover. A recent editorial in *The Washington Post* explained why:

"The Risenhoover campaign committee has bought television time to air . . . a half-hour version of the official Air Force film of this year's Flag Day observance in the House. As edited by Rep. Risenhoover at his own expense (a modest $650, compared with the $5,000-or-so the Air Force spent to produce the film), this epic documentary includes an inspirational address by evangelist Oral Roberts, whose headquarters is in Tulsa. [Risenhoover is from Oklahoma.] But the dramatic climax is a reading of "I Am an American" by the chairman of the House Flag Day Committee backed up by the Air Force's Singing Sergeants and band. Do we have to tell you who is this year's chairman of the House Flag Day Committee?"

After wondering how it came to pass that the Air Force had filmed this minor House event, the *Post* continued:

"When you poke into that, you learn that it was not a one-time favor to a two-term congressman. Instead, it has become routine over the years for the services to supply a band and a camera crew for the House's annual Flag Day show. The Air Force simply got the call this year.

"Does this mean there's an intense nationwide demand for—and use of—Flag Day movies as inspirational programs?... Well, not exactly. The film is quietly handed over to the Flag Day chairman, and his office distributes it. Mr. Risenhoover thinks highly of this service; he shared last year's movie—in which he was shown making a patriotic speech—with some 200 groups in his district. Apparently no one else used it."

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The Executive Protection Racket

by Howie Kurtz

The light blue squad cars, looking like regular police patrols to the uninitiated, are a familiar sight in certain parts of northwest Washington. On one corner, two uniformed officers are sitting double-parked outside the all-night "7-11" grocery on Connecticut Avenue, sipping coffee and chatting about the high cost of living. Up the street a bit, a lone officer is shooting the breeze with two diplomatic-looking gentlemen in front of the Lithuanian embassy on 16th Street. And a few blocks away, another patrol car is cruising ever so slowly up the steep hills of Massachusetts Avenue, past the glittering facades of foreign chanceries, its occupants looking vaguely bored.

A closer look reveals that these are not District of Columbia policemen, but part of an obscure yet growing federal force called the Executive Protective Service. The name evokes the presidential guard duty of the Secret Service, of which this outfit is a part, but its beat is the posh residential area which stretches about three miles north and west of the White House. You won't see these officers near the burnt-out buildings and abandoned lots of Shaw, an inner-city corridor still scarred from the 1968 riots, and you won't see them in the slums of Anacostia or southeast Washington. For the official mission of these 900 officers of the Executive Protective Service is to guard not just the White House, but the foreign embassies and ambassadors' residences that are scattered throughout one of the city's most affluent neighborhoods.

Howie Kurtz is an investigative reporter for Jack Anderson.

The inescapable irony is that the nation's taxpayers, many of whom live in high-crime areas without adequate police protection, are paying over $17 million a year to support a special police force in the one area of the nation's capital that needs it the least. And the program has grown, in typical Washington fashion, without so much as a sideways glance from the legislators who approve the money. "There hasn't been any controversy whatsoever about the organization in the four years that I've been here," says the staff man on the Senate subcommittee that routinely rubber-stamps the EPS budget. "Most members feel it's a job that has to be done," says his counterpart on the House side. The only hint of dispute, predictably, is whether the State Department should take over the force from the Treasury Department, which runs the Secret Service.

The federal government somehow got by with only 250 White House policemen from the days of Warren Harding until 1970, when President Nixon decided to create a more imperial force to look after both his family and the foreign chanceries. There had been a couple of embarrassing incidents in the papers—one ambassador was robbed, another envoy's wife was mugged—and Nixon convinced Congress it was time to extend his law-and-order campaign to the diplomatic community. Six hundred new policemen were added to the force, and at the next White House state dinner, some of them were dressed up in ridiculous-looking chocolate

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brown uniforms with white tunics, gold braid, and steeply sloping hats.

The ornate outfits, which are still an embarrassing memory to the EPS, were retired as soon as Nixon was. But the Executive Protective Service has survived intact, except that its name recently was changed to the more awkward Uniformed Division of the United States Secret Service, which doesn't even have a catchy acronym. "We changed the name because the press and public has been confused about our role," says Ken Lynch, a public affairs officer with the Secret Service. "Some people viewed us as a private guard force. We were misunderstood. People just weren't sure why we were out there." But the unit's obscure image, Lynch admits, is somewhat intentional. "We try to be a low-profile agency," he says with a grin. "We don't want to spend a million dollars on PR to pat ourselves on the back."

'Gets Lonesome Out Here'

While you often see the EPS officers driving aimlessly around the embassy area or gabbing with each other on street corners, it isn't because they're especially lazy or incompetent. In fact, they tend to be young, intelligent, and highly motivated people looking for an advanced career in police work. It's just that, well, there isn't that much to *do* on the job. "One of the worst problems they face is monotony," Lynch concedes. "That's why we vary their duties to keep them alert." A few years ago, the officers rotated between shifts of two hours working and two hours off—a cushy routine designed to dispel unnecessary daydreaming. Now they put in a full eight hours, but switch off into squad cars and scooter patrols after standing in front of an embassy for two hours.

It is this "fixed-post" duty, stationed in front of an embassy like some royal British guard, that drives some of them crazy. "It's just a job, but it sure gets lonesome out here sometimes," says one tired-looking officer. "Sometimes you just wish that something would happen so you could see some action."

The EPS officers have most of the powers of regular D.C. policemen, although they rarely exercise them. The EPS officer must stand his guard no matter what happens. If a burglary is being committed down the block from the embassy, EPS policy forbids him from leaving his assigned post to chase after the burglars. Instead he must radio other EPS officers or D.C. police in nearby patrol cars. EPS officers can make arrests and try to stop any crime committed in their immediate presence, however. In the past year, the force has made arrests for indecent exposure, purse snatching, defacing embassy property, driving under the influence, and assault with a deadly weapon. But these dramatic moments are few and far between, and most of the time is spent waiting for something to happen. EPS officers don't strike fear in the hearts of Washington drivers, who have learned they generally don't give parking or speeding tickets. To top it off, the EPS is not empowered to investigate any crime, even an embassy crime, after it has been committed.

"Boredom is a real problem," says Craig Ash, a veteran EPS officer. "When you first look at the Secret Service, you think of chasing the President around. Then, when you get into the job, the glamor that the media build up just isn't there. If you're standing guard on the midnight shift and no one comes by to say hello for hours—well, that can get very boring."

The officers don't live as dangerously as city cops—none has been seriously injured in the eight years since the service was expanded.

A Blaze of Gunfire

When something finally does happen, it can become a highly publicized incident, particularly if it takes place at the White House. In February 1974, for example, a soldier who flunked out of flight school commandeered an Army helicopter and, after a frenzied airborne chase,

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landed on the White House lawn in a blaze of gunfire. But incidents of this kind were handled adequately enough before 1970, when the Secret Service had the security responsibility for the White House.

No Heavy Lifting

The EPS naturally beefs up its patrols during political demonstrations at the embassies, but its main concern is keeping the protestors at least 500 feet from the embassy. Oddly enough, it's usually the D.C. police or the U.S. Park Police, not the EPS, who arrest unruly protestors. "Our job is to protect the embassy," explains Lynch. "We'd only make an arrest if the crowd tried to run into the embassy."

Sometimes an officer will expel an insistent protestor, such as the South Korean priest who refused to abandon his prayer vigil on the lawn of his country's embassy. But it's far more common for EPS guards to assume the role of traffic cop whenever an embassy function threatens to tie up traffic. Every October, for instance, the Iranian embassy holds a big birthday bash for the Shah which never fails to create a massive rush-hour jam for miles along Massachusetts Avenue.

Although EPS officers occasionally ride into Maryland or Virginia to check on ambassadors who have moved to the suburbs, the only other city with an EPS presence is New York, where the service has been guarding some of the more sensitive United Nations missions, such as those of the Middle East countries, on a "temporary" basis since 1973. No one is quite sure why the New York patrol hasn't been made permanent, as EPS admits that it's far more costly to pay the daily expenses, the food and housing expenses, for example, of a "temporary" detail. The inexplicable arrangement has cost the taxpayers as much as $700,000 a year.

Outside of the boredom, EPS can be an attractive place to work. There's no heavy lifting, the starting salary is $13,799, and families are eligible for federal health benefits. In addition, EPS officers can retire after 20 years on an extraordinarily lucrative pension plan that's even better than the one for other federal workers (which, in turn, is far superior to the Social Security program that the rest of us are stuck with). The officers get much higher benefits than other federal workers, even though they make lesser payments over a shorter period of time. The General Accounting Office recently blasted the special pension plan as too generous and costly and said it should be abolished.

But the pension plan appears to be getting no more scrutiny than the Executive Protective Service itself. There is obviously a need for extra police protection along Embassy Row, but no one has ever demonstrated why 900 officers are needed in a neighborhood so well off that property values have nearly doubled in the last three years. EPS officials say they're already "strapped" with over 400 diplomatic locations to protect and would like more manpower but are willing to let Congress decide whether or not it's needed. "It's sort of an investment to make the diplomatic community feel safe. The extra protection is just a residual benefit for the people who happen to live in those areas," Lynch contends.

But how much is that investment worth? Most federal agencies try to justify their existence by exaggerating the problems they were created to solve—the Energy Department climbed to Cabinet status with dire warnings about the impending oil shortage, while the National Institute on Drug Abuse paints a grim picture of rising drug addiction at budget time. But EPS officials have taken exactly the opposite approach—they point with pride to the lack of crime in their area as indisputable evidence that the Executive Protective Service is on the job. Whether they could achieve the same results with a less expensive effort is a question that nobody in Washington has even bothered to ask. ■

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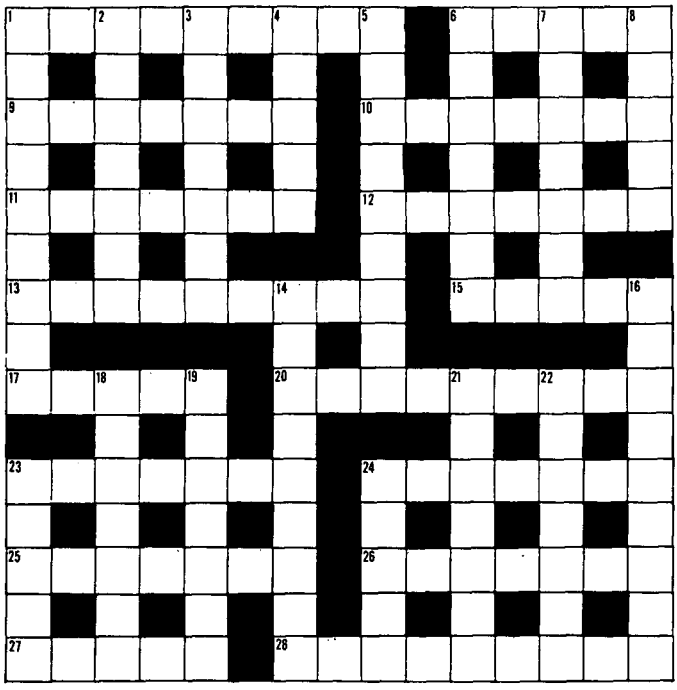
the political puzzle

by John Barclay



ACROSS

1. New leader makes Hal join up. (4,4,1)
6. Brief seen in daughter's eyes. (5)
9. One's had confusion from these accidents. (4-3)
10. Trial arranged for man before a sport site. (7)
11. Volunteer army on a calm day? (2-5)
12. Fife arrangement with L.A. school is enough. (7)
13. Communist condiment? (3,6)
15. Basketball player or zoo keeper? (5)
17. On solid ground like in bed. (5)
20. Tipsy nail shuffled in Michigan. (9)
23. Mortified flesh is egocentric. (7)
24. Deer cub doctored in good health again. (2,5)
25. Toner 200 improved joint action. (7)
26. 1977 Goya era exhibition. (4,3)
27. Actions by mischievous pests. (5)
28. St. Louis backers of 1 Across? (9)

DOWN

1. Clearly not a Yankee fan! (6,3)
2. Collected crazy dare in brick carrier. (7)
3. Will establishment bar poet somehow? (7)
4. Startling to find direction input confused. (5)
5. Where girl ends up on H.M.S. Raisin tour. (2,3,4)
6. Correspondence calls for craft, if it can be arranged. (7)
7. Bad weather triumphant, we hear. (7)
8. National symbol in idea gleaned from magazine. (5)
14. Crazy about city chops. (9)
15. It's not fair when they come down? (9)
18. Ice lens produces nothing. (7)
19. Motorists like stream in South Dakota flowing North. (7)
21. 1 Across before he was 1 Across. (7)
22. Take Iran van to absolute state. (7)
23. Belts and hose? (5)
24. Purchaser of smashed Eastern ruby. (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2,3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word. Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 38.

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The Case of the Co-opted Critic: Ralph Nader and Harvard Law School

by Lynne Bernabei

There may be institutions in our society that have never felt the sting of social criticism, but law schools will never be counted among them. Since the early 1900s, law schools have had their share of critics, sometimes in vogue, more often not, but their refrain has invariably been the same.

Law schools, they say with considerable justification, accept large numbers of idealists and then transform them in three years into mechanics, people who have rejected the social values they entered with and replaced them with the hired gun mentality that dominates the legal profession. Students enter law school with aspirations of changing the world and leave as legal counsel to ITT. In 1959, a neophyte law professor named Roger Fisher summed up the dilemma as well as anyone when he asked: "I would guess that among the entering first-year students, a high percentage would express an interest in public service, in politics . . . in making the world a better place. I would venture. . . that among the third-year graduating students this percentage is far less. . . . Is the law school also a school in cynicism?"

Lynne Bernabei, a graduate of Harvard Law School, is a clerk for a federal district court judge in Washington.

In 1975, Ralph Nader decided to find out why law schools turn out the kind of lawyers they do. The choice of institution for the Nader-sponsored investigation was an apt one: Harvard Law School, in name at least, the preeminent law school in America.

In addition to its prestige, its power and its tradition, Harvard Law School was also the place which originally developed the teaching method—the so-called Socratic method—that has been universally adopted as *the* way to teach law in this country.

Nader was a Harvard Law School alumnus and a long-time critic. He had become discouraged by the small, ever declining number of public interest lawyers in each Harvard graduating class. Most recent graduates went to corporate law firms. This was a rude jolt to Nader who just six years earlier had seen signs for hope, signs that things might be turning around. "Law students," he wrote in 1969, "began to turn away from private practice. . . . Those who went directly to the firms were less than enthusiastic. The big corporate firms in New York and Washington began to detect early signs that their boot camps were not responding to the customary Loreleis of the metropolitan canyons."

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But that brief fling with conscience faded with the 1960s, and by 1975 law schools were smug, self-satisfied places. Corporate firms gobbled up their best and brightest with alarming regularity. Law school had returned to normal.

'Timid and Shallow'

Earlier this year, the results of the Nader study were published as a book, *The High Citadel: The Influence of Harvard Law School*, authored by project director Joel Seligman, now a law professor at Northeastern University. The reviews were mostly unfavorable, but not because *The High Citadel* was harsh or unreasonable in its call for reform. Quite the opposite: *The New York Times* called it "timid and shallow"; a somewhat friendlier reviewer labeled it "mild."

It is not obvious how law schools mold and narrow their students. The Socratic method and the refusal of faculty to talk about values and social goals get much of the blame. But just as important are the subtle and not-so-subtle pressures of grades and Law Review; of getting ahead and staying there; of eventually being employable. And nowhere could those pressures be seen as plainly as with the people who worked on *The High Citadel*. At the beginning, Nader had an eager cadre of student researchers. By the end almost all of them had left. The final product deserved the reviews it received—it *was* timid, it pulled its punches, presented no bold ideas for change, and took no strong position on any issue it discussed. Ironically, the same pressures the school used to finesse, nudge, and shove students into corporate law worked on the group writing the Nader book. In effect, Harvard Law School co-opted the very book which was supposed to be its critique.

Anxiety About the Project

The three-year saga of writing *The High Citadel* began in the summer of 1975. A second-year student was hired to write a report on the literature on legal education and the structure of the school. He was to draw up a blueprint for student researchers and writers to follow during the coming year. He compiled a competent if not exciting bibliography on legal education and surveyed the school's outstanding projects and committees.

From the beginning, the faculty and administrators revealed their anxiety about the project. Abe Chayes, law professor and former legal advisor to President John Kennedy, convinced the student to let him see this preliminary outline. Soon after, Dean Albert Sacks requested that Seligman submit the final Nader conclusions to the law school faculty and not publish them in book form. The faculty would consider seriously any criticism made by the group. This time, the request was turned down.

In October Seligman chose five students, including myself, to work on the project. The same student who wrote the early report was the first of this original group to leave. He was fired after he lobbied other collaborators to shun publicly any connection to Nader. He thought that some professors might not speak to students associated with so vocal a critic of Harvard Law School as Ralph Nader, and suggested the group be called "The Book Group" instead.

As it turns out, that student was wrong. The formidably inaccessible Harvard faculty became eminently accessible to us. The average law school professor is surrounded by protective secretaries when in residence in his office. More often he spends his time outside the school or in the modern, hidden faculty library. These same professors were graciously setting up interviews and talking to the Nader group, even if circumspectly and off-the-record.

The professors we talked to were not unpleasant people. In one sense, we probably had hoped for that—for that would make the task of criticizing them and their law school much easier. It's

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not too painful to criticize people you don't like. But most of the faculty voted Democratic, and none openly opposed the inclusion of blacks and women on the faculty. In fact, they were all good liberals. One black member of our group admitted feeling uncomfortable with the project after one interview in particular, in which the professor told her that in 1970, when the blacks at the law school were holding sit-ins, he had been among those who had spoken out in their favor.

On another level, interviewing faculty brought with it considerable worry. What had begun as insecurity over criticizing professors turned to anxiety about our own work as law school students as the year wore on. For one thing, it became increasingly difficult to see much sense in attacking the professors, the school, the teaching method—and by implication, the legal profession itself, which we were about to join.

How was it affecting our grades or our chance for a job or clerkship recommendations? Were we setting ourselves apart from our teachers and fellow students, somehow excluding ourselves from the collegiality of law school? These came to be overriding concerns.

One woman, for example, who had earned a spot on the Law Review and had turned it down, decided to work on the book. The students on the Law Review flatly said she was "crazy" for doing so, and she spent most of her time on the project agonizing over her decision. Over and over, she covered the same questions, never resolving whether she had done the right thing.

Some of us became frightened by professors' reactions to the project. One woman was afraid to interview a professor from whom she had received a B grade. Archibald Cox was reported to have asked in the faculty dining room, "Who are the students working on the Nader book? Where did they come from?"

The paranoia of the younger, seemingly liberal, faculty members infected the group's enthusiasm. Richard Parker, proud of his work registering blacks for two weeks in Mississippi and conducting research one summer for Nader, advised me to ask the Dean most of my questions. He had been at the school too short a time to be of much help, he insisted. Gary Bellow, a former devotee of Cesar Chavez, called me at 7:30 one morning to ask if I were going to show my draft chapters to the faculty I interviewed. I said I would only with specific faculty members and only if I had agreed to do so beforehand. But would I mind showing him the manuscript? Finally I caught on. "Who asked you to try to get ahold of my notes and draft chapter?" I asked. He laughed. "I can't tell you," he said. He later insisted that he was just trying to keep me on good terms with other faculty members. Suddenly I had the feeling that even those whom I had expected to be our allies, those who had been critical of the faculty and the law school in the past were not what they appeared. The Nader group had good reason to worry, it seemed.

The Internal Pressure

But perhaps the most painful pressure we felt was not the external, but the internal—every day we worked on the Nader project we were facing something most other law students pushed to the backs of their minds or ignored completely. We had to face our feelings about the legal profession and about the fact that most of us would end up joining the world of corporate law. We were interviewing faculty about it and talking to our fellow students about it. That, after all, was a large part of the project. It became a constant topic of discussion. We rationalized: students were just reacting to the job market. The big money firms were the ones that hired so that is why most of us would end up there. We became despondent. We never had any support from the student body. We began to feel that the project wasn't worth it—that the

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problem of students turning almost exclusively into corporate lawyers was bigger than any of us, and our efforts were therefore hopeless. Most law school students come to see the issue of corporate lawyering in simplistic terms, as utterly black and white. They can retain their integrity, by joining the public interest community or doing legal aid work, but they wouldn't make much money. Or they could "sell-out" with the big firms and make money. Thinking about that—and we did all the time—was ultimately a depressing task, and combined with the external pressures, it forced most of the Nader group to abandon the project long before the work was done.

An Apolitical Place

The tragedy of *The High Citadel,* however, is not that some law students ended up co-opted by Harvard Law School—that happens all the time. The real tragedy is that the final product never came to grips with the substantive problem of reforming law school. From my vantage point as a member of the Nader team, I came away from the project convinced that if Harvard Law School—and the rest of America's law schools—are to ever give us a different breed of lawyers, they need to instill an entirely different atmosphere into legal education.

As things stand now, the real lesson taught by Harvard Law School is that *no values are really very important.* A lawyer may, with honor, represent anyone or anything. *How* one uses one's skills as a lawyer is insignificant since the adversary system in which everyone has an attorney guarantees that justice, somehow, will win out in the end.

Harvard Law School is, above all, an apolitical place. The Socratic method, that grueling method of case analysis of appellate court opinions, never seeks a larger context. The four corners of the case are all—its facts become hypothetical problems and students are trained to become mechanical problem-solvers, using the same kind of deductive reasoning a mathematician might use. It teaches students to use a legalistic jargon that is ultimately "neutral with respect to right or wrong," according to one Harvard professor, a jargon the layman can never comprehend. At the bottom of the method is the implicit belief that the abstract concept of "justice" always prevails—thus it matters little which side of the case you are on. But at the same time, the professor is instilling a sense of skepticism. Rigorous legal analysis demonstrates that *any* chain of reasoning (and thus, any real value system) leads inevitably to illogical conclusions.

The teaching of jurisprudence at Harvard Law School has little noticeable political content. Felix Frankfurter and Learned Hand, its forebears, talked of judicial restraint, the need for courts to avoid the resolution of constitutional questions whenever possible. Courts leave rather ill-defined "political questions" to the

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executive and the legislative branches. Many on the Harvard faculty had been clerks to the two Supreme Court justices who epitomized this way of thinking—Frankfurter and Justice John Harlan.

What I found in conducting my interviews for the book was a faculty that lacked direction, and that is part of the problem at Harvard. Frank Michelman, rather an intellectual for a law school professor, awkwardly admitted having little purpose in teaching.

"In terms of living a life," he said, "having a career, being in a profession, long-term respects having to do with orientation and perspective, it obviously helps to be reflective about what one is doing or thinking. But it won't happen for all people automatically.... And I haven't fashioned a way to give students this kind of experience."

Even young teachers who had represented radical clients did not seem to know where they were headed. Charles Nesson has represented Daniel Berrigan, Daniel Ellsberg, Dr. Kenneth Edelin, and Emile de Antonio. Yet an inquiry about his professional goals turned up the response that it was more important to be a well-rounded professional lawyer. "The more different frameworks you expose yourself to the more well-rounded you will be." He added that he always kept up his credentials so he could move around.

Finally, there is the issue of hiring faculty for Harvard Law School. Faculty are supposedly chosen strictly on their academic and professional credentials. Yet somehow, they replicate themselves with astounding precision generation after generation. A few blacks, one or two women, a few heretical scholars creep in. Still, they are a decided minority, segregated from the power factions in the faculty, and not growing in numbers. The usual explanation for the homogeneity among law professors is that blacks, women, and social theorists do not meet the standards called for. In practice, at Harvard Law School, the hiring criteria are discriminatory; the old boy network makes sure the standards are not applied evenly.

In the course of my research, I found example after example of that inherent double standard, but unfortunately *The High Citadel* barely mentions them. It suggests that the faculty broaden its approach to hiring to bring in clinical teachers, government lawyers, and specialists and scholars in the social sciences. Even though they did not have the standard credentials, they would enrich the school by their diversity. But, the book says, the present law school Appointments Committee and the faculty do not discriminate. Their tastes are just not as catholic as they might be.

And on the matter of Harvard's teaching method, *The High Citadel* gives chapter and verse on its history, but makes no effort to determine whether it is good, bad, or indifferent.

All in all it was a sad performance, made even sadder when Seligman showed his original draft to about 15 professors and then deleted from the final version some of the criticisms they objected to.

Little Passion For Justice

Reforming Harvard Law School is not a new idea. It has been resurrected with eerie regularity every 15 or 20 years. The Legal Realists of the 1920s and 1930s criticized law schools for teaching students law entirely through the case method. The realists said graduates did not know how to deal with facts and complexities and real-life legal situations. Lawyers did not analyze or even acknowledge the consequences and values inherent in their actions.

In 1948, there was a major study of the Harvard curriculum. This postwar group came to the same conclusions as the Legal Realists. Around 1959, another faculty group made another study and came up with the same conclusions.

So nothing much has changed since 1920. Yale historian Robert Stevens

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describes the cyclical process of criticizing legal education: "As all the basic arguments about curriculum reform are trotted out in each decade in apparently blissful ignorance that they have ever been discussed before, so in terms of legal research the wheel is reinvented with depressing frequency."

The problem, and the one which neither *The High Citadel* nor most other past calls for reforms explore, is that law schools do not instill a sense of the law as a means to justice. There is no feeling in those classrooms that the whole point of law is that what is right ought to be what prevails.

Why is there so little passion for justice? Part of the answer lies with law schools that teach that values don't matter and that lawyers aren't supposed to take principled positions.

In fact, the purpose of law school in large measure is to confer status on a small, select group of people who get to be called lawyers. From the classroom we learn the language of the law which befuddles the rest of society. From our professors and classmates we gain our credentials—our status as lawyers. We become the legal haves, everyone else is part of the have-nots. That is why so many of the students working on *The High Citadel* felt the anxiety they did and dropped out. They were doing something that wasn't done in law school. They felt they were losing the respect of their colleagues and professors. They were losing their status.

Asked why so many Harvard Law School graduates work in large corporate firms, Archibald Cox replied that work there was more challenging, more demanding, there was more competition to be met and better associations to be made. The people you worked with were brighter, more intelligent. He never said a word about the value of the work they do.

Lack of values, and the lack of nerve that follows ineluctably, is the heart of credentialism. It is the true legacy of Harvard Law School as a graduate school. And it became the force which gutted the Nader critique. ■

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Richard Reeves on Political Books

Simon and Schuster is a publishing house that prides itself on making little bestsellers into big bestsellers—and it does that quite well and quite profitably. So it's kind of nice to see that S and S is still publishing books that probably will sell about 15 copies. That's my rough projection of the commercial prospects of a book that the house will put out in January: *Domestic Affairs—American Programs and Priorities* by James H. Duffy.

Domestic Affairs is basically an old-fashioned liberal credo, the arguments of an unreconstructed New Dealer who proudly subscribes to something Lyndon Johnson said 20 years ago: "I believe there is always a national answer to each national problem, and, believing this, I do not believe there are necessarily two sides to every question."

Almost nobody talks that way anymore; it sounds so *quaint*, like FDR. In fact, Duffy, a New York lawyer, begins the book with Franklin Roosevelt's "Economic Bill of Rights" from Roosevelt's 1944 State of the Union Message. Great stuff: "The right to a useful and remunerative job. . . adequate food and clothing and recreation. . . a decent home. . . adequate medical care. . . protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident. . . a good education. . . . All of these rights spell security."

Who speaks for that kind of government-is-your-friend liberalism? Well, on the day I read *Domestic Affairs*, Edward Kennedy did. The senior senator from Massachusetts was at the National Governors' Conference urging 30 Democratic chief executives to walk in the steps of Roosevelt and Johnson, to support a national health insurance plan.

One of the governors looking bored was Jerry Brown of California. Brown, the very model of a post-welfare Democrat, quickly warned anyone who would listen—and many did—of a "tidal wave" of taxpayer resentment of "traditional Democratic spending programs."

Richard Reeves is the author of Convention. *His column is a regular feature of* The Washington Monthly.

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Duffy recognizes the resentment, writing, for instance, that "one of the consequences of Medicare and Medicaid—and a consequence largely unforeseen at the time of their enactment—has been a truly dramatic increase in medical costs between 1950 and 1974 medical care expenditures rose by 750 percent" But that doesn't change his mind about good intentions or programs "The good that has been done by Medicare and Medicaid in the past thirteen years is undeniable" If there were problems, they were operational, Duffy argues, not altogether convincingly "Lax and indifferent administration has also brought discredit on public health programs" A few screw-ups, perhaps but he is dogmatic "A realistic program to curb inflation cannot be developed until the basic fact is recognized that unemployment, and measures that increase unemployment, aren't an acceptable basis for such a program"

I think Ted Kennedy would agree with that last statement I don't believe that Jerry Brown would—he would be calculatingly vague, as he was at the Governors' Conference when he was asked about growth vs no-growth and said he was for both and against both No matter what their personal intentions and ambitions, there is going to be a public confrontation between Kennedy and Brown over the next year or so The press can, and will, put that together without outside help or consent

And the Kennedy-Brown debate, even if it's stimulated and simulated by people like me, is necessary right now The conventional wisdom of the moment, that liberalism born with the New Deal has been a failure, is new sophistry Kennedy has to be heard and reported—he's the new Hubert Humphrey, whether he likes it or not—because what he's saying is important, whether he runs for president or not And Duffy, who is saying many of the same things, has put together a book that deserves to be read by someone other than 15 graduate students ■

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political book notes

Public affairs books to be published in October.

Almost Everyone's Guide to Economics. John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin, $8.95.

American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1880-1964. William Manchester. Little, Brown, $15. For us haters, Douglas MacArthur made a hell of a target. He was insufferably vain—his wife called him "Sir"—he was imperious, patriotic, the darling of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the lunatic Right. But in William Manchester's gracefully written and wonderfully marbled account, the reader glimpses at not just America's most brilliant wartime general but a genuinely interesting man. A soldier who hated war, a victor who refused to conquer Japan, MacArthur was an educated man who knew much about the history of war and civilization, and too little about himself.

—*Ken Auletta*

America's Dilemma: Jobs vs. Prices. Alfred L. Malabre. Dodd, Mead, $9.95.

Anticipatory Democracy: People in the Politics of the Future. Clement Bezold, ed. Random House, $10/$4.95.

Bakke, DeFunis, and Minority Admissions: The Quest for Equal Opportunity. Allan P. Sindler. Longman, $12.50.

Bearings: A Foreign Correspondent's Life Behind the Lines. Edward Behr. Viking, $12.50. Books born of moseying about—Behr has been a correspondent variously for Reuters, Time-Life, the *Saturday Evening Post, Newsweek,* and others—are rarely great. Their value lies in their flash insights, more common to journalists than to scholars, which add soupcons to history's brew.

Like a good journalist, Behr delights in anecdotes. Some, lamentably, are suspect. His account of the Army lecturer who, concerned with the high incidence of VD in Vietnam, demonstrated on his middle finger the use of a condom only to find later that many GIs had followed his instruction literally, is a recycled chestnut from World War II.

Behr's anecdotes are best when they illuminate the news business itself. For instance. . . .

About the abysmal wages the wire services used to pay: a correspondent/trainee in Reuters' New York bureau collapsed on the street and was taken to Bellevue Hospital. An intern phoned the bureau and explained that their man was suffering from malnutrition. "Damn," said the bureau chief, "I thought he had friends here."

About correspondents' talent for getting to the point: While Belgian civilians in a state of shock were waiting to be airlifted out of the turbulent Congo, a British TV reporter dashed about the airport periodically stopping to bellow, "Anyone here been raped and speaks English?"

Since after the U.S. Senate, newspapermen are the world's most incestuously self-idolatrous clan, *Bearings* deserves praise for the perspective it keeps. Its archetypal foreign correspondent is not so much Gregory Peck in a trenchcoat as Woody Allen in a swivet.

—*Leonard Reed*

Britain—A Future That Works. Bernard D. Nossiter. Houghton Mifflin, $9.95. If British society ever disintegrates, Americans won't be able to complain that the news media didn't warn us. In this book, *Washington Post* reporter Bernard Nossiter attacks much of the popular media mythology about Great Britain, refuting myths by citing facts.

Taxes are higher in France, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway than in Britain. Far from crippling the economy with excessive wage demands, the British unions have agreed to a "Social Contract" that limits pay increases in return for dubious promises of controls upon inflation and maintenance of social services. The British economy has been growing, not stagnating, since World War II; other industrial nations have simply been growing faster. The North Sea oil will provide a long-awaited spur to the British economy. If there are any severe problems afflicting Britain, Nossiter declares, they are racial and religious, rather than economic—warfare between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland and racial discrimination against Asians, West Indians, and Africans within England.

If Nossiter had merely refuted the standard gloomy predictions about Great Britain, he would have performed a

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genuine service. However, he also makes the shakier claim that by investing less energy in their work than people in most industrial societies—and by spending more time on leisure pursuits, family, social relationships, and cultural activities—the British are a model for the rest of the world. A decade after the Beatles and Carnaby Street revolutionized popular culture and almost two decades after the "angry young men" produced a distinguished theater and literature, Nossiter predicts that Britain's new exports will be its art and its lifestyles.

All this resembles the celebrations of the American counterculture of the 1960s, and it deserves no more credence than Charles Reich deserved. As unemployment continues to rise in Britain and living standards decline further, the most recent export has been punk rock, with its overtones of sadism and violence. In Great Britain, as in this country or anywhere else, when the economy stagnates, social meanness ensues. To recognize this truth, one need not be a conservative ideologue, on either side of the Atlantic. George Orwell, Beatrice and Sydney Webb, Keir Hardie, and other prophets of the British welfare state all agreed that economic growth was essential for their dreams of a more equitable society.

—*Harry Lesser*

The Buchwald Stops Here. Art Buchwald. Putnam, $9.95.

Children of the Revolution: A Yankee Teacher in the Cuban Schools. Jonathan Kozol. Delacorte, $9.95.

Choices and Echoes in Presidential Elections: Rational Man and Electoral Democracy. Benjamin I. Page. University of Chicago, $17.50.

Conflict in Urban Transportation: The People Against the Planners. Henry Malcolm Steiner. Lexington, $13.50.

Congress and the Budget. Joel Havemann. Indiana University, $12.95. This clear, well-researched book reports that after a slightly bumpy start the congressional budget committees have begun to ease into the arena of influence, if not power, and it reluctantly concludes that the able, photogenic Alice Rivlin and her Congressional Budget Office have been far less to the point.

The Constitution Between Friends: Congress, the President, and the Law. Louis Fisher. St. Martin's, $12.95/$5.95.

A Crisis for the American Press. John Hohenberg. Columbia, $14.95.

Deadly Magic. Edward Van Der Rhoer. Scribner's, $9.95. An interesting book about the breaking of the Japanese code during World War II by a man who worked on the project. One of his anecdotes is a bureaucratic gem. In January, 1941, Joseph Grew, our ambassador to Tokyo, reported, "'There is a lot of talk around town to the effect that the Japanese, in case of a break with the United States, are planning to go all out in a surprise mass attack on Pearl Harbor.' Grew's information was forwarded to Admiral Kimmel in Hawaii with an evaluation by Naval Intelligence stating that 'based on known data regarding the present disposition and deployment of Japanese naval and army forces no move against Pearl Harbor appears imminent or planned for the foreseeable future.' "

You can be certain that on the morning of December 8, ONI's file copy was pulled and the words "known," "present," and "foreseeable" were underlined.

Democracy and the Amendments to the Constitution. Alan P. Grimes. Lexington, $17.95.

Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers. Michael Schudson. Basic, $12.95.

The Eisenhowers: Reluctant Dynasty. Steve Neal. Doubleday, $10.95. The author doesn't excel either as a writer or an analyst, but still his book is important. Its combined portrait of Milton, the New Deal administrator, and Dwight, the Republican general, does much to explain the consensus that governed America from the late thirties until the mid-sixties.

France and the United States: From the Beginnings to the Present Day. Jean-Baptiste Duroselle. University of Chicago, $18.

Good News, Bad News. Edwin Diamond. MIT, $12.50. This book belongs in the "might have been" category of the season, primarily because Diamond and the MIT Study Group have been so good in the past. Diamond's articles in *New York* magazine over the years usually have been models of good reporting and keen, thoughtful insight. *Good News, Bad News* has a little of both, but not nearly enough to fill 17 chapters and over 200 pages. What we're left with instead is mostly bad

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KENNETH LASSON

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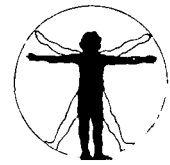

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news; a series of pointless, meandering essays touching on every imaginable facet of the press: campaign reporting, television anchormen, the ratings, the newsmagazines, the rise of Rupert Murdoch, investigative reporting, and so on. The writing is sloppy and repetitive (there are several identical paragraphs repeated in different chapters), and Diamond has an annoying habit of giving us glimmers of good ideas throughout the book and then failing to pursue them or explore them in any depth. He is also rather shameless about patting himself on the back ("I respect both Bernstein and Greenfield, but I told them they were wrong and put my own views about anchormen into an article. . . . ").

There are some parts of this book that rise above the level of the rest, particularly in the first few chapters on campaign reporting in the 1976 presidential elections. But these chapters shine precisely because they contain what is missing from the rest of the book—the sense that Diamond and the Study Group did their homework, that they collected their anecdotes by working instead of by taking friends out to lunch. After chapter three, though, be prepared for pages upon pages of the random thoughts of Ed Diamond, slapped down on paper with no particular order or shape.

—*Joseph Nocera*

Harvard Hates America. John LeBoutellier. Gateway, $7.95. John LeBoutellier is a super-earnest young man who was finance chairman for a Republican senatorial campaign while still a student at Harvard, and who has used the two years since his graduation to develop a new philosophy for his chosen party. That philosophy, which he calls The New Homestead, is defensible enough with its suggestions about health care (government-supported catastrophic insurance), higher education (using universities to disburse government-backed student loans), and the cost of housing (an innovative mortgage plan). LeBoutellier says that his view draws on "true" Republican principles—that is, those of one century ago—but he never successfully explains why it has anything more to do with the modern Republican Party than with post-Great Society Democrats like Carter and Brown.

What is not defensible about this book is its title—and the one chapter it refers to, a shrill, mean-spirited, and shallow caricature of the "Liberal mind" at his alma mater. In that chapter, LeBoutellier shows the skill, which has reached full flower in Ben Wattenberg, of making a potentially important case unacceptable through sheer vulgarity of presentation. That first chapter has virtually nothing to do with the rest of the book—but, then, neither does the title, raising suspicions that this is the price LeBoutellier paid to get his more worthy passages into print.

Hired Hands: Seasonal Farm Workers in the United States. Stephen H. Sosnick. McNally & Loftin West, $20/$14.95.

Island China. Ralph N. Clough. Harvard, $12.50. Taiwan and its critical role in the Sino-American relationship is the subject of Ralph Clough's first-rate study. Neither democracy nor totalitarian, "Island China," where, driven from the mainland, Chiang Kai-shek set up headquarters for the "Republic of China," has been remarkable among developing countries for its political stability and economic success. Taiwan is on the way to becoming a medium-sized, affluent, industrial society capable of exporting high technology items. Its problem is whether it can survive without diplomatic relations with the United States.

American military protection is an important deterrent to the forceful conquest of Taiwan by the People's Republic of China. Fortunately, it is not the only deterrent. Increasingly apprehensive about Soviet ambitions in Asia, Communist China is unlikely to jeopardize by military adventure its stake in improving its relations with the United States and Japan.

But a "normalization" of U.S.-China relations as seen from Peking would require that the United States break diplomatic relations with Taiwan, withdraw all its forces from the island and annul its security treaty with the Republic of China. In principle, the United States has accepted the second of these conditions but has linked any such withdrawal to the prospect for a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. It has not agreed to the other two propositions.

In Clough's view, although Peking cannot back down on its conditions, the impasse is not hopeless. The Carter administration could accept these conditions if satisfied that the security and economic well-being of Taiwan were protected—that is, if Peking acquiesced on the continuation of the substance of U.S. relations with Taiwan in return for changes

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in the form of those relations. Implicit would be the postponement, perhaps for several years, of the question of Taiwan's ultimate reunification with the mainland.

Clough believes that a productive relationship with China on that basis is possible. He doesn't entertain the notion that getting there will be easy.

—*L. R.*

James Jones: A Friendship. Willie Morris. Doubleday, $8.95. So this is how a writer dies. Not with a bang or a whimper, but with courage, steady courage, growing sadness, and enduring love for the too much he must leave behind. At least that is the way rough, hard-drinking, fun-loving, gentle-hearted Jim Jones faced the congestive heart failure that ended his life.

Jones was not one of those writers who despaired over whether there was really anything to say. He was living to finish *Whistle*, the last of the army trilogy (*From Here to Eternity*, *The Thin Red Line*), where he hoped to say it all. In the hospital with heart failure for the fatal last time, Jones propped himself up in bed to make more notes on the last chapter of the work that was his life, but not all his life. Just outside intensive care the people who loved him—family and friends to whom he had given love, advice, encouragement held a vigil round the clock. Sometimes they would drift into his room to exchange last looks, last touches. Jones called for a poem, Yeats' "Lake Isle of Innisfree," and read it aloud for his friends until the nurse ushered them out. The next day he was unconscious, and in another, dead.

But Jones was a lucky man. After a tour of duty in the bloody Pacific theater, he shouldered his way into Maxwell Perkins' office with his first novel. Perkins rejected the book but finally gave Jones a $500 advance on his next one, *From Here to Eternity*, a book that made Jones rich and famous. He married a would-be novelist and actress primarily remembered as a stand-in for Marilyn Monroe—beautiful, strong-minded, foul-mouthed, enchanting Gloria, who turned out to be the Right Girl, giving him good times, understanding, children, and, what every writer needs even more than money—an absolute fan.

A few years after their marriage the Jones moved to Paris, where their house on the Ile St Louis became *the* expatriate salon. Jones had been the center, the heart of the American writers' colony, dispensing thousands of dollars worth of booze and priceless comfort, and, somehow, writing more books—some very good, some just okay—*Some Came Running, The Thin Red Line, The Merry Month of May*—always making lots of money and friends.

A super life, a funny, raucous, loving, vivid man. And while Willie Morris writes it all with beauty and sensitivity, the book never quite lets us reach Jones, touch him, know him.

The book has two problems, both of which could have been avoided if Morris had waited a few more years before writing, had waited until he better understood where Jones stopped and Morris began, until memories of the man dying no longer shrouded memories of the man. Most of the friends' stories sound slow, muffled—as if Morris interviewed them a week after the funeral when they were still paralyzed with grief. Granted, any compassion is a welcome change from bitter remembrances like Hemingway's *Moveable Feast*, but reverence bordering on adoration also snuffs out life.

Then there's the problem with the narrator. Morris lived near Jones in the Hamptons and was a close friend only during Jones' later years; yet from the beginning, Morris makes himself too large a part of his portrait of Jones—the photographer's shadow obscures the picture.

Morris seems to have a lot of problems coming to terms with his own reputation and work. He spends far too many pages "correcting" reviews he considers unfair to Jones and generally flailing against the critics in an artlessly immediate way. For it seems that in loving Jones, Morris wanted to become Jones, had a slight confusion about just which writer was who. This becomes explicit toward the end of the book, where Morris again feels compelled to go on for pages about a bad review, only this time a bad review of something Morris himself had written! In this rather strange scene he reads the review aloud to Jones, who, with characteristic good sense, tells him to forget about it. (Hell, Jones adds in a throwaway Morris would turn over in his mind for years, that's just like the stuff they wrote about me.)

In all his justification for Jones then, part of Morris' game is justifying himself. Poor Morris, who doesn't know what James Jones knew, that a writer's justification doesn't come from the critics' scribbles, but from his works and from his life. Jones had no worries on either count.

—*Blythe Babyak*

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The Killing Zone: My Life in the Vietnam War. Frederick Downs. Norton, $9.95.

The Last Half-Century: Societal Change and Politics in America. Morris Janowitz. University of Chicago, $25.

Legislative Reform: The Policy Impact. Leroy N. Rieselbach. Lexington, $17.

The Literacy Hoax: The Decline of Reading, Writing and Learning in the Public Schools and What We Can Do About It. Paul Copperman. Morrow, $10.95.

The Many Faces of Communism. Morton A. Kaplan, ed. Free Press, $14.95.

The Midnight War. Richard Goldhurst. McGraw-Hill, $12.95. An absorbing account of the American intervention in Russia at the end of World War I, one of the least-known disasters of American foreign policy.

A Model of U.S. Balance of Payments. Peter B. Kenen. Lexington, $25.95.

Muddling Toward Frugality. Warren Johnson. Sierra Club, $6.95.

Murder U.S.A.: The Ways We Kill Each Other. John Godwin. Ballantine, $10.

Nurse. Peggy Anderson. St. Martin's, $10.95. A remarkable account of what life is like for a nurse—thoughts, feelings, daily routines, life-and-death experiences, are all here.

Nutrition and National Policy. Beverly Winikoff. MIT, $27.50.

Operation Morning Light: Terror in Our Skies—The True Story of Cosmos 954. Leo Heaps. Paddington, $8.95.

Organizing An Anarchy: Belief, Bureaucracy, and Politics in the National Institute of Education. Lee Sproull, Stephen Weiner, David Wolf. University of Chicago, $18.

Parties and Elections in an Anti-Party Age: American Politics and the Crisis of Confidence. Jeff Fishel, ed. Indiana University, $25/$8.95.

Person/Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society. Theodore Roszak. Doubleday, $10.

Politics and History: Selected Essays. Raymond Aron; Miriam B. Conant, ed. Free Press, $15.95.

The Politics of Cancer. Samuel S. Epstein, M.D. Sierra Club, $12.50.

Private Physicians and Public Programs. Frank A. Sloan, Jerry Cromwell, Janet B. Mitchell. Lexington, $16.95.

Scandal and Reform: Controlling Police Corruption. Lawrence W. Sherman. University of California, $14.50.

Sexual Shakedown: The Sexual Harassment of Women on the Job. Lin Farley. McGraw-Hill, $12.95.

Strategic Planning in a Rapidly Changing Environment. James B. Whittaker. Lexington, $16.

The Terrors of Justice. Maurice Stans. Everest House, $10.95.

Western Coal: Promise or Problem. Wallace E. Tyner, Robert J. Kalter. Lexington, $18.

Where Have All the Voters Gone? The Fracturing of America's Political Parties. Everett Carll Ladd, Jr. Norton, $7.95. Ladd, who as co-author with Charles P. Haley of *Transformations of the American Political System* was one of the first to perceive the decline of the political party in the United States, has written another good book about the phenomenon. He concludes:

"The institutional parties are crumbling. That is the decisive electoral fact of our day. Lacking the coalescing bonds that parties once provided, the various units of government will find it harder than ever to pull together toward coherent policy.

"The institutional parties have not been some wondrous good. They have manifested their own fair share of error, dishonesty, and ineptitude. But in the last analysis, they managed to stand in the way of electoral chaos. Today they are a diminished presence. Here, then, is the future which we confront—an increasingly partyless politics that fragments and disorients, and which thereby mocks our effort at mature self-government."

The Wired Society. James Martin. Prentice-Hall, $12.95.

World Change and World Security. Norman C. Dahl, Jerome B. Wiesner. MIT, $14.95.

A World of Men: The Private Sources of American Foreign Policy. Lloyd Etheredge. MIT, $12.50.

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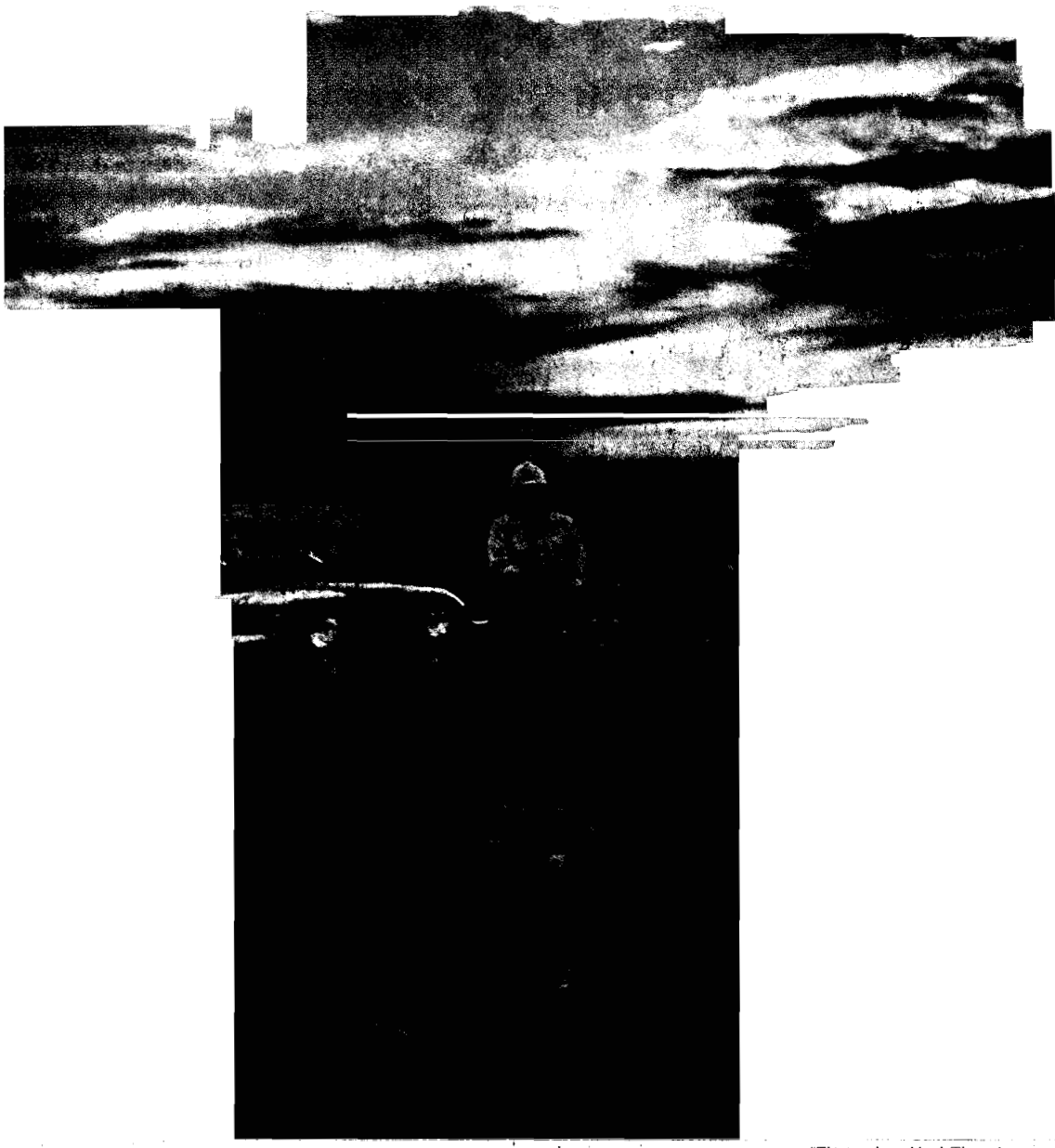

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